

THE ^{1489. m. 56}
HISTORY
OF

FRANCE:

FROM THE

Establishment of that Monarchy
under PHARAMOND, to the Death of
LEWIS XIII.

INTERSPERS'D WITH

Relations of the most memorable Events
which have happened in the several
Kingdoms and States of EUROPE, in
the Course of that Period.

Written at the Request and under the Direction of

M. HARLAY,

First President of the Parliament of PARIS,

By M. CHALONS.

VOL. II.

DUBLIN:

Printed by GEORGE FAULKNER in Essex-street:
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THE
HISTORY
OF
FRANCE.

CHARLES VIII.

THE History of this reign I have compiled from *Philip de Commines*, from the continuer of the chronicle of *Montrelet*, from *Paulus Emilius* who wrote only the beginning of it, and from *Arnold Ferron*, who continued *Paulus Emilius* in *Latin*, and brought it down to the end of the reign of *Francis I.*

Charles VIII., son of *Lewis XI.*, had been long confined by his father to the castle of *Amboise*; and, being permitted to see no-body but his domesticks, he had scarce learnt any thing besides the puerile sports and diversions of youth.

The king his father had always debarred him all commerce or correspondence with the princes and grantees of the kingdom, lest he should enter into confederacies with them, which might one day give him as much pain as he had himself formerly given his father. He would not allow him to be taught the knowledge of letters, nor of the *Latin* tongue, except only these words, which he made him get by heart: *Qui nescit simulare, nescit regnare.*

Charles was but fourteen years old, and without the least knowledge of affairs, when *Lewis* his father died. *Lewis* duke of *Orleans*, first prince of the blood, pretended the kingdom required a regent, and that he was the most proper person to be chosen. The duke of *Bourbon*, who had the same pretension, maintained that the regency could not be given to the duke of *Orleans*, who, not being more than twenty-four years of age, had himself occasion for a tutor. But the states assembled at *Tours*, declared that the kingdom had no occasion for any regent, and committed the care of the king's person to madam *Anne* of *France*, the king's sister, and wife of *Peter de Bourbon* seignor de *Beaujeau*. *Anne* chose a number of counsellors, by whose assistance she governed the kingdom. They gave the post of constable of *France* to the duke of *Bourbon*, and ordered the pragmattick sanction to be observed throughout the kingdom. The duke of *Orleans*, offended at the injury which he thought he had received, retired from court to the duke of *Bretagne*, and persuaded him to undertake a war against the king.

The king's arms, under the conduct of *Lewis de la Tremouille*, were very successful in this war. The duke of *Orleans* and the prince of *Orange* were taken prisoners at the battle of *Saint Aubin*, and the duke of *Bretagne* compelled to sue for Peace, which was granted him upon conditions that were advantageous to *France*; for a principal article of the treaty was, that the castle of *Nantes* should be put in the king's possession. The treaty was scarce concluded, when the duke of *Bretagne* died, leaving only two daughters, *Anne* and *Isabella*, in the year 1488.

Anne his eldest daughter, and heiress of the dutchy, had been promised in marriage, in her father's lifetime, to *Maximilian* archduke of *Austria*. *Allen* count *d'Albert*, who commanded for the late duke in the city and castle of *Nantes*, imagined, that, if he could gain the affections of the *Bretons* by some important service, he might obtain their consent and assistance to espouse the princess. With this design he remonstrated to them, that the treaty concluded between the king and the

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the late duke, was prejudicial to their liberty, and shameful to them as a nation; that they would from thenceforth be obliged to receive law from the *French*, who being masters of the capital city, and of the principal fortrefs of *Bretagne*, would with very little difficulty subject the rest of their country; that, if they were capable of taking a resolution worthy of themselves, they were yet strong enough to defend their liberty; that, if the king should enter *Bretagne*, they were able to repulse him; and that, as for himself, he offered them his person to serve them in any manner they should desire. He moreover promised them to maintain the city and castle of *Nantes*, the Government of which the late duke had entrusted to him, against all the power of *France*. These remonstrances were of such effect, that they occasioned the *Bretons* to declare to the king, that they were very desirous of peace, which they earnestly besought him to grant them; but that they could never think of purchasing it at the expence of their capital city, nor would ever consent to give it up.

The king, being offended at this declaration, again entered *Bretagne* with an army, and after having taken several towns, and made himself master of a great part of the country, he demanded the princess *Anne* in marriage, and sent back to *Maximilian Margaret* his daughter. In the mean time the *Bretons* pressed *Maximilian* to come immediately into *Bretagne*, and espouse the princess, and to bring forces with him sufficient to prevent the king from depriving him of his wife, and of the territories which she was to bring him in marriage. *Maximilian* nevertheless ruined his pretensions by his slowness. The king, taking advantage of his delay, by dint of money gained the ladies who were about the person of the princess; and these ladies in return gained him the heart of their mistress; whilst he at the same time became master of the towns and provinces by force of arms. *Anne*, persuaded by these women, who had the greatest power over her, declared herself in favour of the king; and, this declaration being accompanied by the consent of *John of Chalons*

prince of *Orange*, the uncle of *Anne*, the marriage was concluded and celebrated in the year 1489. The death of *Isabella* of *Bretagne* happened soon after her sister's marriage to the king.

The archduke *Maximilian*, incensed at these two affronts which he had received from the king, took up arms to do himself justice, and leagued with the *English*; who being in *France*, and having in vain endeavoured to surprize *Boulogne*, they repassed the sea without doing any thing of consequence.

The archduke on his side took *Arras* and *Saint Omer*; but the death of the emperor his father, whom he succeeded in the empire, recalling him into *Germany*, he concluded a peace with *France* upon advantageous terms; for *Artois* and the earldom of *Burgundy* were restored to him; and indeed with great appearance of justice, seeing these two provinces had been given as a dowry with the princess *Margaret*, from whom the king had separated, and had sent her back to *Maximilian*, in the year 1490.

Whilst the court was entirely taken up in rejoicings for the king's marriage, *Ferdinand* king of *Arragon*, demanded of him the restitution of the county of *Roussillon*, which had been mortgaged to the late king for the sum of 300,000 crowns, and offered to pay down that sum in ready money. The power of *Ferdinand* was so great, that it began to give umbrage to the court of *France*: by his marriage with *Isabella*, he had united the dominions of the crowns of *Arragon* and *Castile*; he had conquered the kingdom of *Granada*, and driven the *Moors* entirely out of *Spain*, of which he was the sole master (excepting *Portugal* and *Navarre*) and he therefore assumed the title of king of *Spain*; besides which, he was entire master of *Sicily*. Pope *Innocent VIII* favoured him upon all occasions, and even, in several letters which he wrote to him, gave him the title of *Most Christian*; which title the pope would have conferred upon him by a bull on purpose, had not the cardinals opposed his design, and represented that this title belonged only to the king of *France*, and could not, without offending him, be given to another.

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He therefore contented himself with giving him that of *Catholick*, in recompence for the zeal which he had shewn for the faith by subduing the infidels. The kings of *Spain* have ever since borne the title of *Most Catholick*.

Ferdinand was now grown so powerful, that the king's council did not think proper to augment his dominions by the restitution of *Roussillon*: they therefore refused the 300,000 crowns, and declared the king would keep *Roussillon*. *Ferdinand* was two artful to rest satisfied with this refusal: he ordered his ambassador at *Paris*, who was a *Cordelier*, named *John de Mauleon*, to try if he could gain the queen's confessor, who was also a *Cordelier*, named *Oliver de Maillard*. *Mauleon* having sounded his brother, and finding him susceptible of avarice, he offered him a considerable sum of money, provided, he could persuade the queen that she was obliged by her duty to God to cause *Roussillon* to be restored to the king of *Spain*, and by that incline the king to the restitution. The *Cordelier* undertook the affair, and succeeded in it. He raised scruples in the queen's mind, who solicited the king so strongly, that *Roussillon* was restored, upon condition that the kings *Ferdinand* and *Isabella* (so this king and queen were called) should never engage in a war against *France*, nor should assist those against whom the king might declare war. As the king's design was to engage *Ferdinand* faithfully to observe this condition, because he meditated the Conquest of the kingdom of *Naples*, he generously returned him the 300,000 crowns: but this so noble a behaviour did not produce its effect; for the king of *Spain* did not keep his word, as we shall presently see.

The kingdom of *Naples* had revolted against don *Alphonso* its king. The cruelties of this prince had so exasperated his subjects, that they unanimously offered their kingdom to *Charles VIII*, after having in vain offered it to *Renus* of *Vaudemont* duke of *Lorrain*.

Pope *Alexander VI*, *Lewis Sforza*, who governed the state of *Milan*, and who hoped soon to become its sovereign, together with most of the other princes of

Italy, solicited the king to undertake this conquest; representing to him, that the house of *Anjou's* right to the kingdom of *Naples* was in him; and promising, if he would undertake the expedition, to assist him with all their forces.

They did not believe the king was capable of undertaking this conquest himself: they imagined, that, as his health was extremely weak and infirm, he would never expose himself to so many and great fatigues; that he would content himself with sending troops into *Italy* under the command of his generals; and that they should themselves be able to dispose both of his troops and of those who commanded them.

The Pope in particular hoped that all things would be conducted by his orders, and that he should reap as great advantages as the king, from the conquest which the *French* troops would make; but things were ordered in a quite different manner. The king being resolved to undertake the expedition himself, proposed it to his principle ministers, who disapproved it. But *Stephen de Vers*, seneschal of *Beaucaire*, the king's great chamberlain, and the general *Bricomet*, who governed him in all things, approved it; and, as they would not displease him by disapproving a thing he had at heart, they confirmed him in his resolution.

The king therefore prepared for the expedition, and in a little time entered *Italy* with his troops. Antiquity can shew nothing similar to this expedition; for, to behold with what readiness and submission all the towns received him, one would have imagined it was a monarch visiting the towns and provinces of his dominions, to receive the homage of his subjects: he nowhere met with the least opposition; he scarce presented himself before a town, but it opened its gates and submitted to him; even some did not wait for his presence to surrender; *Rome* and *Naples* cost him not a single soldier. Such a prodigious success can be attributed to nothing but this prince's extraordinary good fortune. Had the *Italians* made the least resistance, they might easily have stopped him at his entrance into *Italy*; for he had but few troops, no money to pay them,

them, and not a man among all those who managed his affairs of capacity sufficient to conduct such an expedition as this successfully. So that, as *Philip de Commines* observes, though every thing was managed with great imprudence, and though there was not above half the force necessary for so great an enterprize, it nevertheless succeeded very happily: on which occasion pope *Alexander VI* was told, that the French arrived with wooden spurs, and chalk in their hands, like harbingers, to mark out their several abodes, without any further trouble.

The king, before his departure from France, set the duke of Orleans at liberty, who had been kept in prison ever since the battle of *Saint-Aubin*: this favour he granted to his sister the dutchess of Orleans, wife to that prince: and he moreover gave him the command of his naval forces.

As soon as the king approached the state of the *Florentines*, he was met by *Peter de Medicis*, who came to receive him in the name of the republick, over which he in some degree governed, by a continuation of that power of which his ancestors had been possessed. The king declared to him, that he insisted upon having the city of *Pisa* delivered up to him, and also three others of the state of *Florence*, as security for his passage, and, in case of necessity, for his retreat. *Peter de Medicis* with joy embraced this opportunity of gaining the king's favour, because he might greatly contribute towards strengthening his dominion, which was not very firmly established. He put the king in possession of all the towns which he required, and even granted him his passage through the city of *Florence*.

The *Florentines*, who were impatient of the dominion of *Medicis*, because they hated him as much as they had loved his predecessors, when they were informed of the treaty which he had concluded with the king, proscribed him, and gave permission to the populace to plunder and destroy his palace, which was one of the most magnificent in Europe. *Peter*, upon his arrival at *Florence*, finding how his affairs stood, with reason imagined that his life could not there be in the

greatest security; and he therefore disguised himself and fled to *Venice*.

His uncle *Cosmo* was a man of profound wisdom and extensive knowledge: he traded to all parts of *Europe*, and by that means gained such vast riches as rendered him exceeding powerful. He employed this power in acquiring friends and creatures, by whose assistance he by degrees rendered himself master of the government of the republick. *Laurence* his son succeeded him in his power, and by his good conduct maintained himself in his father's authority. *Peter* the son of *Laurence* had indeed the same desire of governing which his father had had; but he had neither their wisdom nor capacity: he rendered himself odious to the *Florentines* by his behaviour, in publickly affecting the title of sovereign, which his ancestors had never taken, but had contented themselves with being so, without the name.

The *Florentines*, incensed at the treaty which *Peter* of *Medicis* had concluded with the king, declared him an enemy to the republick, confiscated his vast riches, and banished him for ever: and, that the king might not take offence at their behaviour in this respect, they declared, that they had condemned him, not for having surrendered their towns to the king, but for having given them in his own private name, instead of doing it in the name of the republick, as he had been ordered.

Lewis Sforza, who had constantly accompanied the king since his entrance into *Italy*, hoped, that, after the conquest of the kingdom of *Naples*, he would give him some of the towns of the state of *Florence*; but, the king having explained himself thereupon, and having given him to understand that his intention was to keep them himself, *Lewis* in discontent retired to *Milan*, and assumed the title of duke, usurping the government of that state, in prejudice to the right of the son of duke *John Galeas*, who was lately dead. To give a clearer idea of this event, it is necessary to take a short review of the history of *Milan*.

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After the death of duke *Philip-Mary Galeas*, who left no lawful issue, male nor female, the *Milanese* re-assumed its liberty, and reestablished the ancient form of their republick, notwithstanding that dutchy by right of succession belonged to *Charles* duke of *Orleans*, son of *Valentine*, the sister and heiress of *Philip-Mary* the last duke. They did not long preserve this liberty: for *Francis Sforza*, the greatest commander of his time, having married *Blanche Galeas*, natural daughter of duke *Philip-Mary*, he seized upon the dutchy, and was at last acknowledged its sovereign. *Francis* was succeeded by his son *John*, whom he caused to take the name of *Galeas*, that he might gain that veneration and obedience which the people had always preserved for the princes of that name, the race of whom was extinct in the person of the last duke.

John Galeas having by his oppressions and debaucheries render'd himself odious to his subjects, he was assassinated in the metropolitan church at *Milan* upon a solemn feast-day. *John Galeas* his son was under the tuition of *Lewis Sforza* his great uncle, who kept him constantly confined in the castle of *Pavia*, under pretence that the weakness of his understanding rendered him incapable of the government. In this castle he lived, and at last died, either a natural death or by poison, and left one son; in prejudice of whose right *Lewis Sforza* got himself acknowledged duke of *Milan*, and assumed that title. It was soon after he heard of the death of *John Galeas*, that he quitted the king's service, and went to *Milan*.

In the mean time the king traversed *Italy* rather like a prince triumphing after victory, than like a general who had enemies to engage. He entered *Pisa*, after his troops had taken possession of it, and placed a garrison therein. The inhabitants had been subjected to the *Florentines* by force, and were impatient of their dominion: they besought the king to free them from their subjection, and to restore them to liberty. *Charles*, without reflecting much upon the consequences, granted their request. They immediately pulled down a marble lion elevated upon a high column, which was

the enſign of the dominion of *Florence* over the *Piſans*, becauſe the *Florentines* had at this time a lion in their arms; and in its place the *Piſans* placed an equeſtrian ſtatue of the king, trampling upon a lion. We ſhall hereafter ſee how they ſerved the king as they had done the lion, pulling down his ſtatue, and putting it under the feet of that of the emperor *Maximilian*.

The king entered *Florence* at the head of his troops, armed cap à pee, and his lance couched; and he therefore pretended the city belonged to him by right of conqueſt: he was for placing a gariſon in it, and appointing *French* magiſtrates and other officers: but he was at laſt ſoftened by the prayers and ſubmiſſions of the *Florentines*, and concluded a treaty with them, by which he reſtored them the ſovereignty of their city, and promiſed alſo to reſtore their other towns after the conqueſt of *Naples*, or at his return to *France*. The *Florentines* on their part put their republick under the king's protection, obliged themſelves to pay 120,000 ducats, and to reſtore *Peter de Medicis* to all his poſſeſſions; the decree of whoſe baniſhment was alſo repealed. After this the king marched towards *Rome*. The pope, alarmed at this, cauſed *Ferdinand* king of *Naples* to enter the city with forces to prevent the king's entrance; but *Ferdinand*, not daring to wait his arrival, retired in the night, and abandoned both the pope and the city: 'tis ſaid his flight was occaſioned by his aſtoniſhment at an ill-boding accident, which was, that the walls of the city fell down of themſelves on that ſide by which the king was to enter. The pope, being thus abandoned, retired into the caſtle of *Saint Angelo*, and prayed the king, by ſome cardinals which he ſent to him, to enter *Rome* as a friend, and not as an enemy. The king entered it in the ſame manner he had done all the other towns, armed cap à pee, at the head of his troops. In *Rome* he exerciſed ſeveral acts of ſovereignty; he beſtowed favours upon ſeveral *Romans*, and pardoned the crimes of others; and ſome alſo, who were guilty of ſedition, he cauſed to be hanged. Twenty of the moſt conſiderable cardinals of the ſacred college went to him, and ſollicitated him

to attack the castle of *Saint Angelo*, take the pope prisoner, have him brought to a tryal, and a new pope elected in his place.

They accused him of having purchased the pontificate (which indeed was true); otherwise, a man so vicious and abandoned as *Roderick Borgai* had never been elected: this was the name of *Alexander VI*, who, though trained up from his most tender infancy in the ecclesiastical life, and even raised to the papal chair, had nevertheless several bastards, the shame of which, as well as of the other irregularities of his life, he did not so much as endeavour to conceal. They also accused him of several other crimes which he had committed since his elevation to the pontificate. The king could not resolve to come to this extremity with him. The pope, fearing he should be forced, in case the castle was attacked, made proposals for an accommodation, which were accepted: he obliged himself to put the king in possession of four cities of the ecclesiastical state, viz. *Terracina*, *Civita-Vecchia*, *Viterbo*, and *Spolletta*. As to *Viterbo*, the king was already master of it. The pope also promised to deliver into his custody *Zizima*, brother of *Bajazet* emperor of the *Turks*. *Zizima* had retired to *Rhodes*, flying the persecution of his brother, after the loss of a battle. The grand master of *Rhodes* had sent him into *France*; from whence he had been transported to *Rome*, where the *Pope* kept him prisoner, and had him strictly guarded, in consideration of 60,000 ducats, which the Grand Seignor paid him annually, to engage him not to let his brother escape.

The king was desirous to have *Zizima* in his power; because, being resolved to turn his arms against the *Turks* after the expedition of *Naples*, he hoped that the person of this prince would be of service to him in his design. The *Pope* delivered him into his custody; but he first gave him a slow poison, of which he some time after died. This wicked action he committed at the solicitation of the Grand Seignor, with whom he had a particular connection, and who for the death of *Zizima* had promised him 300,000 ducats. The truth

truth of this behaviour of the pope's is attested by several letters which *Bajazet* wrote to him, and which are printed at the end of *Philip de Communes's* history. In them we have a full view of this pope's fallhood and treachery, his confederacy with the *Turk*, and the care which he took to inform him of the design which the king had of turning his arms against *Greece* after the conquest of *Naples*. But at that time there was no suspicion of his horrid treachery and deceit.

The pope quitted the castle of *Saint Angelo*, and went to see the king, who received him by making (these are *Philip de Communes's* own words) a most profound and filial obedience. *Guiaccardine*, a cotemporary historian, says, he prostrated himself before the pope, kissed his feet, then rose up, and saluted him face to face. The next day the king assisted at the mass performed by the pope, and served him with water to wash. The pope, that he might transmit to posterity a memorial of these two actions, which shewed the submission of so great a king to the holy see, caused them to be painted in the gallery of the castle of *Saint Angelo*. He created two cardinals at the king's request; which were general *Brissonnet* bishop of *Saint Malo* and *Philip of Luxembourg* bishop of *Mans*.

In the mean time the king of *Naples*, seeing the king's forces ready to fall upon him, imagined, that, to prevent the *Neapolitans* being unfaithful to him, he could not do better than to cede the crown to *Ferdinand* his son, who had given them no cause to hate him. He accordingly caused *Ferdinand* to be crowned king of *Naples*, and then retired into *Sicily*. Nevertheless, this change of king did not in the least change the minds of the *Neapolitans*.. They sent deputies to the king of *France*, to assure him that they were ready to submit to him.

The king sent *Peter de Roban* marshal de *Gié*, and the constable of *Beucaire*, with some troops, to *Naples*, in order to make a proper disposition there for his reception: and he soon after followed them himself, receiving the submissions of the towns in his way, which all without the least hesitation surrendered to him.

Ferdinand,

Ferdinand, finding himself universally abandoned, and even that the meanest of the people were suffered to plunder his palace, retired to his father in *Sicily*, leaving in the new castle the marquis *de Pescaire*, who after a few cannot shot surrender'd: after which, the other, which was call'd the Egg-castle, and was commanded by the former, was obliged also to surrender. After this the king enter'd the city of *Naples* in triumph, and was crowned there, in the year 1494.

Historians take notice of two great faults in the behaviour of the *French* when in possession of the kingdom of *Naples*: the first, that, instead of bestowing the offices and employments upon men of merit and natives of the country, the king's favourites sold them to persons, who, either from their want of merit, or from their ignorance, were unworthy or incapable of them: the second, that, when in possession of *Naples*, they spent their time in diversions and entertainments, instead of endeavouring to reduce the more distant towns of *Calabria*, into which the *Arragonian* troops had retired: and the loss of this kingdom was in the end owing to this neglect.

The king was young; he loved his pleasure; and (as *Philip de Commines* frequently says) those about him were unable to manage such great affairs. *Commines* was at that time the king's ambassador at *Venice*, at which place a league was formed between all the potentates of *Italy* against *France*. The pope was the principal author of this league: he so strongly solicited those princes who were able to oppose the progress which the king made in *Italy*, that at last, the ambassadors of the emperor, the king of *Spain*, and the duke of *Milan*, being, together with the pope's legat, assembled at *Venice*, they concluded a confederacy against the king.

Philip de Commines discovered this negotiation before it was finished; but, notwithstanding the remonstrances which he made to the senate and the ambassadors, he was not able to prevent it. He sent advice of it to the king, who had taken a resolution of returning into *France*, and was even upon the road, having left the govern-

government of the kingdom of *Naples* to *Gilbert de Bourbon* seignor de *Montpensier*, of whom *Philip de Commines* speaks in the following terms: "He was a courageous prince, and handsome in his person; but he never rose from his bed till noon: and then for his wisdom, it was such as did not render him at all capable of conducting affairs that required prudence and judgment."

The king passing through *Rome* upon his return, the pope, instead of waiting for him there, fled to *Orvieto*. *Philip de Commines* having been with the king, and having warned him to be upon his guard, the king in a jesting manner asked him, whether the republick of *Venice* designed to meet him? *Commines* replied, that the republick would certainly send 40000 men to meet him, and that he would very soon see them. Nevertheless, so far was what he said from being believed, that he was laughed at for speaking so seriously of a thing that appeared so very improbable; for the court of the king was composed almost entirely of young men, who imagined there was nobody in the world capable of making war but themselves.

The design of the leagued princes was, to prevent the king's return into *France*, to defeat him, and oblige him to abandon all that he had taken in *Italy*. This design was easy to be executed; for the king had but 8000 men with him, and the enemy were upwards of 40000. The king's safety was entirely owing to the slowness of the *Venetians*, who were long deliberating upon the number of men they should arm; for by this delay he got through all the passes, where if the enemy had met him with only half their number, they might have defeated him, particularly in the *Appennine* mountains. The *Switzers* got the cannon through, by mere strength of arm, drawing and even carrying it themselves in such places, where the horses were of no service, on account of the stones and rocks.

When the king was arrived at the extremity of the mountains, he was informed that the army of the enemy waited for him in the plain: astonished at this, he remained five days in the valley of *Pontrenne*, which is

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in the state of *Genoa*, without knowing what to determine. At last it was resolved, that a passage should be endeavoured to be opened by force: there was nothing else to be done; they must either force their passage through the enemy, or die with hunger in the mountains. The king therefore detached the marshal *de Gié* with the van-guard, and followed three days after himself. The marshal having discovered the enemy on the third day, he encamped in the village of *Fournove* in the *Parmesan*, and there waited for the king. The enemy might have forced him in his camp, and put his troops to the sword; but they were afraid, lest, by attacking him, they should oblige the king to return back: their design was at once to surround the king and all his army, that so none of them might escape; so certain were they of gaining the victory. The king, having joined the marshal, advanced forward, with a resolution to charge the enemy, if they opposed his passage. Being come within sight of them, and finding they were ranged in order of battle, he charged them so vigorously, that they were put in disorder and confusion. The battle lasted but a quarter of an hour; nevertheless, the enemy lost 3000 men; and the rest of them were seized with such a panick, that the marquis of *Mantua*, and *Francis de Gonzagues*, general of the *Venetians*, were not able to rally them. This battle was fought the 6th or 7th of *July* 1495.

The day after the battle the king marched towards *Ast*, a town which belonged to him in *Piedmont*, and arrived there in nine days; having been followed all the way by the enemy, who had rallied, but dared not to attack him. Not having been able, therefore, to prevent the king's retreat, they besieged *Novarre*, in which was the duke of *Orleans* with 7000 men. This prince, to whom the dutchy of *Milan* by right of succession belonged, had attacked and made himself master of *Novarre*, while the king was at *Naples*, having obtained his permission to undertake the conquest of the *Milanese*. His garrison and military stores were sufficient to maintain a siege for a considerable time; but he was in great want of provisions.

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The king, not being strong enough to attack so great an army, and compel them to raise the siege, gave ear to the proposals which were offered by the duke of *Milan* for a peace; and it was concluded, upon condition that the duke should have *Novarre*, and that, whenever the king should please to come into *Italy*, the duke should permit his passage, and should serve him with his troops against all his enemies. The *Venetians* were also comprised in this treaty: nevertheless, they remained two months irresolute, whether they should come into it or not. When the peace was concluded, and the Town of *Novarre* surrendered, a reinforcement of 20000 *Switzers* arrived in the king's camp.

All the young nobles of the court, particularly the duke of *Orleans*, were for attacking the enemy, without paying any regard to the treaty. But the counsels of *John of Châlons* prince of *Orange* prevented the king from being determined by their sentiments. The prince of *Orange* represented to him, that, besides the dishonour of violating a treaty he had solemnly concluded, and the danger of attacking a powerful army, advantageously encamped, and well provided with ammunition and provisions, it was also evident, that the *Switzers* were double the number of the *French*, and would consequently, should a battle be gained, attribute the Victory to themselves, and make such advantage of it as they should think proper; and that means should rather be found to separate the enemy, than suffer them to remain together in so large a body. For these reasons, therefore, it was resolved, that the treaty should be observed.

The *Switzers*, being discontent with this proceeding, resolved among themselves to seize upon the king's person, and the chief nobles of his court, in order to gain a considerable ransom for them: but the king, being informed of it, secretly withdrew from the army, and retired to *Tren*, a town of *Montferret*, where he remained in safety. From thence he crossed the *Alps* to *Lyons*. Two months after his arrival in that city the dauphin died. The city of *Lyons* being extremely agreeable to the king, he staid there a considerable time.

While

While he remained here, and was entirely engaged in his pleasures and Diversions, *Ferdinand* king of *Arragon* repassed from *Sicily* into *Italy*, and, by the assistance of the Pope and the *Venetians*, reconquered the whole kingdom of *Naples*.

With regard to the towns of the *Florentines*, the persons to whom the king had entrusted the government of them sold them to the *Pisans* and *Genoese*: and this they did, upon observing, that the management of the affairs of *France* was neglected, or rather abandoned, in such a manner, that it seemed very improbable they would take any notice of so criminal an action.

About two years after the loss of the kingdom of *Naples*, the king took a resolution to reconquer it, at the solicitation of the *Florentines*, who promised him great assistance, in hopes that he would restore them their towns. The *Switzers* offered to furnish him with troops for this expedition, and all the nobility seemed to approve it. The king therefore caused the necessary preparations to be made; but, his health not permitting him to undertake such a journey, he gave the command of the expedition to the duke of *Orleans*.

The greatest part of the troops were assembled at *Ast*, which had been appointed for their rendezvous; and nothing was wanting, except the presence of the duke of *Orleans*, to enter the kingdom of *Naples*: but this prince, who was the presumptive heir to the crown, because the king had no children, was desirous to stay and see the event of the king's sickness: he therefore deferred his departure under various pretences, till at last the king died of an apoplexy at *Amboise*, in the year 1497, in the twenty-seventh year of his age. *Philip de Commines* says, that *Jerom Savonarole*, a *Dominican*, had foretold the deaths both of the king and dauphin.

This ecclesiastick was in great reputation for his learning and the sanctity of his life: he preached with great zeal at *Florence* against the disorderly lives of the dignified clergy, particularly against those constituted by the Pope: he publicly foretold the king's coming into *Italy*; and, when all were positive in affirming that

that the king would not undertake this expedition himself, but would send his troops to *Naples* under the command of his generals, *Savonarole* constantly maintained in his sermons that he would come himself; that he was sent by God to chastise the tyrants of *Italy*, and reform the church with the sword; and that nothing would be able to withstand him; but that, if he did not execute all the things for which he was sent, he would be severely punished. *Philip de Commines*, at his return from *Venice*, saw this monk at *Florence*, and talked with him concerning the league concluded at *Venice* against the king, of which this religious seemed to be perfectly well acquainted, as if he had been a party concerned or employed in it. He assured *Philip de Commines*, that, notwithstanding this league, the king would return into *France* without the least obstruction, and that his enemies would not oppose his passage but to their own shame; but that God, incensed at his not having reformed the church, as he had designed he should, had pronounced a terrible sentence against him, which would very speedily be executed. *Commines* having pressed him to speak more openly, he refused to explain himself in a clearer manner: nevertheless, from what he said, there was reason to think the sentence regarded the person of the king and those of his children. Two months after the king's arrival at *Lyon* the dauphin his son died, and his death was followed by those of the king's two other children.

After these afflictions, *Savonarole* frequently wrote to the king (*Philip de Commines* assures us he had his letters,) and told him, that if he did not return into *Italy* and reform the church, God would punish him in his own person. As this religious continued to preach against the tyrants of *Italy*, by which he more particularly meant the pope and the duke of *Milan*, these two potentates obtained of the *Florentines*, by a promise that *Pisa* and the rest of their towns should be restored to them, that *Savonarole* should be delivered up to justice. He was tried for sedition, and as an impostor, for pretending to be a prophet; and was condemned and burnt, together with two other religious of his order, who

who stood up in his defence, and maintained that he was a man of the greatest virtue, piety, and sincerity. His death and that of the king happened nearly at the same time. He had foretold the extinction of the house of *Medicis* after the seventh generation.

There never was a prince more remarkable for mildness and affability to all persons than *Charles VIII.* This elogy is bestowed on him by *Philip de Commines*, who moreover says, that he never in his life said a disobliging thing to any one. *Commines*, nevertheless, had been ill treated under his reign; for he had been kept eight months confined in one of *Lewis XIth's* iron cages: this he tells us himself; but he excuses the king upon account of his youth, and the malice of his favourites: and *Commines* is greatly to be commended for having conceived so little chagrin or resentment at such unworthy and dishonourable treatment.

L E W I S XII.

Surnamed the Father of his People.

L E W I S of *Valois*, duke of *Orleans*, was lineally descended from *Charles V.*, surnamed *the Sage*. *Lewis* of *Orleans*, his uncle, was *Charles Vth's* son. Thus, *Charles VIII* dying without children, the crown belonged to him by right of succession.

He was surnamed *the father of his people*, because he had a real love for them, because he freed them from the greatest part of the taxes with which they had been loaded under the reign of *Lewis XI.*, and because he never raised great sums, though he had very considerable wars to maintain.

He had been ill used under the preceding reign; and it seem'd probable he would take vengeance for the injuries he had received from the ministers and favourites; nevertheless, he answered those who spoke to him upon this head, that it was unworthy of the king to revenge the injuries done to the duke of *Orleans*. He
ordered

ordered a list to be taken of all who had places under his predecessor, and put a cross against the names of those who had offended him. This filled them with terrible apprehensions; but he dispelled their fears, by saying, that, as the cross was the sign of Christianity, it therefore signified, that, like a good Christian he freely forgave his enemies.

He had been obliged contrary to his inclination, to espouse *Jane of France*, sister of *Charles VIII.* *Jane* was a princess of the most exemplary virtue; but her personal imperfections were such as rendered her extremely disagreeable; for which reason *Lewis* imagined he might demand the dissolution of a marriage, to which he had not consented, but through fear of offending the late king.

He had sought in marriage *Anne of Bretagne*, before she espoused *Charles VIII.*, and had the happiness to please that princess; it was even said, that he was still not disagreeable to her; and, as this princess brought the dutchy of *Bretagne* to whoever should espouse her, both inclination and interest prompted him to this new marriage. He therefore demanded of the pope the dissolution of his marriage with *Jane of France*; and the pope, desiring to oblige him, for reasons which we shall hereafter see, ordered the affair to be examined and adjudged by the cardinal of *Luxembourg* bishop of *Mans*, and *Lewis d'Amboise* bishop of *Alby*; who declared, that, the marriage having been forced, it was void, and the parties were free to marry again. The princess *Jane* retired into the dutchy of *Berry*, which the king gave her, and was so far from complaining, that she expressed great joy at the advantages which the king would gain by espousing queen *Anne of Bretagne*; which marriage was solemnized in the year 1499.

As pope *Alexander VI* and his son were both greatly concerned in the affairs which happened under this reign, it will be proper to give a short history of them. When *Roderick Borgia* was raised to the pontificate by the name of *Alexander VI*, he had three natural children, two sons and one daughter. The eldest of his
sons

sons was *Cæsar Borgia*, to whom he gave the cardinal's hat. The second was *John Borgia*, whom he designed to render master of *Italy*; but, the cardinal having conceived a mortal hatred and jealousy of his brother, he at last caused him to be assassinated in the night, and his body to be thrown into the *Tyber*; after which he quitted his cardinalship, and embraced the military life. The pope demanded for him in marriage the daughter of *Frederick* king of *Naples*, nephew and successor to *Ferdinand*, and the principality of *Tarente*. *Frederick* not approving of this proposal, the pope was so incensed against him, that he resolved to draw the arms of *France* into *Italy*, to be revenged of the king of *Naples*.

This was the reason of his entering into so strict a friendship with *Lewis XII*, of his so readily embracing the opportunity of obliging him by the dissolution of his marriage, and of his sending him a dispensation for a second marriage by his son *Cæsar Borgia*. The king received *Cæsar Borgia* in a very magnificent manner, married him to the daughter of *Allen d'Albert*, a very rich heiress, and gave him the city of *Valence* in *Dauphiny*, to possess it during his life with the title of duchy; from whence he was called duke of *Valentinois*. As his desires were unbounded, and his hopes exceeding great, he took this device; *aut Cæsar, aut nihil*. At his return into *Italy* the king furnished him with troops, with which he attacked the *Ursins*, who were enemies of his house, took several of their towns in *Italy*, and freed others of the ecclesiastical state from the power of the *Venetians*, *Florentines*, and the king of *Naples*. Though the death of this prince, and that of the pope, did not happen till about the middle of the reign of *Lewis XII*, I shall, nevertheless, relate them here, that their history may not be interrupted.

Alexander VI, not having sufficient to support himself and his son in their extravagancies, resolved to poison the richest prelates of his court (who all hated him) and enrich himself with their spoils; but the Almighty caused the effect of this wicked design to fall upon his own head.

One day, being to sup, together with several other cardinals, at the house of cardinal *Adrian de Cornette*, he caused some poisoned wine to be sent to this cardinal's, with design to make him and some others drink of it. The bottles were committed to the care of a valet, with orders that no one should taste it.

The pope and the duke *de Valentinois* being come first, and being very thirsty from the intense heat of the season, they asked for something to drink. The valet, who had the care of the poisoned bottles, imagined, that, as so strict a charge had been given him, this wine must certainly be reserved for the pope; and therefore he filled out some to him and his son. It was not long before they felt the effects of the poison. The pope was taken ill immediately, and died the ensuing night, in the year 1503, to the very great satisfaction of the *Romans*. The duke *de Valentinois*, being young and robust, did not die; but he was so dangerously ill, as to be unable to exert himself for the election of a pope, from whom he might hope for protection. Cardinal *Julian*, an enemy of his house being elected to the pontificate by the name of *Julius II*, the *Ursins* and all the enemies of *Borgia* united, and compelled him to leave the ecclesiastical state. He retired to *Gonsalvo de Cordova* at *Naples*, of which he was governor for the king of *Spain*. *France* was now no more an asylum for him, because he had most ungratefully quitted the king's interests, and espoused those of *Spain*, which occasioned the king to revoke his donation of the *Valentinois*. *Gonsalvo* gave him a favourable reception; but he soon after sent him prisoner into *Spain*, upon a suspicion of some treachery. He escaped out of prison, and in his passage through *Navarre* towards *France*, was killed by some persons to whom he was unknown.

About the same time died also *Lucretia* his sister, upon whom was wrote the following epitaph, either by *Pontanus* or *Sannazer*.

*Hoc jacet in tumulo Lucretia nomine, sed re
Thais, Alexandri filia, sponsa, nurus.*

Lewis

Lewis XII was very desirous to recover the dutchy of *Milan*, which belonged to him by right of succession, he being the grandson of *Valentine*, sister to the last lawful duke of *Milan*. He made the necessary preparations for the assertion of this right : but it was first requisite to establish a solid peace with the archduke *Philip*, son of the emperor *Maximilian* and *Mary* of *Burgundy*. *Philip* refused to pay the king homage for the earldoms of *Flanders* and *Artois*, because the king withheld from him the dutchy of *Burgundy* ; and he moreover resolved to take up arms, and do himself justice.

The king, on his side, was resolved to compel him by force to pay the homage which he owed him ; but as the league, which the *Venetians* had concluded with the king against the duke of *Milan*, obliged him to take other measures, he proposed an accommodation to the archduke, by submitting their pretensions upon *Burgundy* to the determination of the parliament, and to abide by its decree. The archduke agreed to this proposal, and consented to pay the king homage for the territories which he held from the crown. *Guy de Rochefort*, chancellor of *France*, received this homage at *Arras* in the king's name. The archduke performed it with the same respect and the same marks of submission, as though it had been to the king himself. A very particular account of this homage may be seen in the history of *Dupleix*.

The king soon after went to *Lyons*, which was the rendezvous for his troops. Having reviewed them, and found that they amounted to 30000 men, he ordered them to march towards the *Milanese*, under the command of *Lewis de Luxembourg* count de *Ligny*, who, for lieutenants general, had under him *Stuart* seignor d' *Aubigny*, and *John James Trivulce*, a *Milanese* officer of great experience : the count de *Ligny*, who was extremely young, had orders to do nothing without their advice.

The *French* troops on one side, and the *Venetians* on the other, made such a great progress, that all the towns of the *Milanese* were taken in a short time, except

cept *Milan*; and it was not long before this also was abandoned by *Lewis Sforza*, who fearing to fall into the hands of his enemies, privately quitted *Milan*, and retired, with his treasures and children, to the emperor *Maximilian*. The inhabitants being thus abandoned, opened their gates to the *French* troops, who took possession of the city. The king, having received advice of these conquests, quitted *Lyons*, went to *Milan*, and made his entry into that city with great magnificence. The castle of *Milan* still held out; and, as it was very strong, the king thought it more prudent to gain the governor by money, than make fruitless attacks, which would cost him great numbers of men. Thus was the *Milanese* in a few days entirely subjected to the king. The *Venetians* were content, according to the agreement made with them, with those towns which *Sforza* and the dukes his predecessors had usurped from their republick.

The republick of *Genoa*, of which the king was lawful sovereign, it having voluntarily submitted to the crown of *France* in *Charles VI*'s time, did not wait for the arrival of the *French* troops, but voluntarily surrendered; and the king sent for the governor of that republick, *Philip de Cleves* seignor de *Ravestein*. All our historians, as *Commines*, *Montrelet* or his continuator, and others speaking of *Philip de Cleves*, do constantly call him *Philip* monsieur de *Ravestein*.

The king forgot nothing which he thought would gain the *Milanese*, and render them faithful to him: he freed them from one half of the taxes which they had paid to *Lewis Sforza*, and appointed *John-James Trivulce*, a *Milanese*, to be their governor. He was advised to act thus by *George d'Amboise*, cardinal and archbishop of *Roan*, a man of great merit, who was the king's favourite and prime minister: but the misbehaviour of the *French* in garrison at *Milan* rendered all the king's precautions and the wise councils of his ministers of no effect: the freedom which they took to debauch the wives and daughters of the inhabitants so incensed the *Milanese*, that *Lewis Sforza*, being in-

formed

formed of the state of their affairs, returned from *Germany* with 12000 *Switzers*, 8000 *Italians*, and some *Milaneſe* and others who joined him upon his march; and, as ſoon as he had entered the dutchy of *Milan*, all the towns received him with great joy, and drove the *French* from their garrifons. The caſtle of *Milan*, and two or three other fortified places whoſe garrifons were too ſtrong for the inhabitants, were all that remained to the king.

Upon receiving this news, the king, without loſs of time, ordered a conſiderable number of his troops to march immediately, under the command of *Lewis de la Tremouille*, the greateſt *French* general of his time, to reconquer the *Milaneſe*. When theſe troops were arrived, *Sforza* laid ſiege to the caſtle of *Novarre*; *la Tremouille* gave him battle, defeated him, and took him priſoner. This victory again ſubjected the dutchy to the king, who gave the government of it to *Charles* of *Amboiſe*, the cardinal's brother. *Lewis Sforza* was ſent into *France*, and there confined in the caſtle of *Loches* in *Berry*, where he died. His brother the cardinal *Aſcagne*, who had been made priſoner with him, was, upon account of his dignity, and at the ſolicitation of cardinal *Amboiſe*, releaſed. All theſe things happened in the year 1499.

The officers who had ſerved the king in this war expected to be as liberally rewarded by him, as they had been by the late king, who was generous to profuſion: but *Lewis XII* was not liberal: neither was he avaricious, for he freed his ſubjects both in *France* and *Italy* from moſt of the taxes they had paid to his predeceſſors; but he did not love to give: his fear of oppreſſing his people made him retrench all expences that were not abſolutely neceſſary: and this ſo ſtrongly inſpired the people with an opinion that he was avaricious, that the cotemporary hiſtorians have made no ſcruple to call him a *Niggard*. Even the players took the liberty of ridiculing him upon this account in their interludes. They repreſented him as a ſick man, inceſſantly calling out for potable gold, as the only remedy for his diſeaſe. The king, being informed of this, only laughed, and

seem'd highly pleased that his subjects thought him so good as to dare take such liberties with him. However, *Anne* his wife made ample amends for this fault in him, and very liberally rewarded all those who had deserved it.

The pretensions of *Lewis XII* to the kingdom of *Naples*, joined to the solicitations of pope *Alexander VI*, who was an enemy to *Frederick* king of *Naples*, determined him to undertake the conquest of that kingdom: but, as *Ferdinand* king of *Spain* might give him disturbance in this enterprize, because he also had pretension to this kingdom, and because it was conveniently situated for him, from its nearness to *Sicily*, of which he was master; he therefore agreed with him, that they should jointly attack the kingdom of *Naples*, and, after they had conquered it, should divide it between them: the king to have *Apulia*, and *Ferdinand Calabria*.

The king went into *Italy*, and made his entry into *Genoa*, where he was received with great magnificence. From thence he sent troops into the kingdom of *Naples* under the command of *Lewis d'Armagnac* duke of *Nemours*, to whom, for lieutenant general, he appointed the seignor *d'Aubigny*, who was in effect to have the conduct and direction of the war, the duke of *Nemours* having nothing more than the title of general.

Capua was the first place which the *French* took: it was carried by assault; and the victorious soldiers committed all the excesses usual upon such occasions. After the taking of some other towns, *Naples* also surrendered in the year 1502. The *Spaniards* on the other side, made a great progress in *Calabria*: so that *Frederick*, finding himself engag'd by two such puissant enemies, as he was not able to resist, threw himself upon the mercy of him whom he thought most generous: he surrendered himself to the king, who received him with all the marks of consideration he could desire in his situation; gave him the dutchy of *Anjou*, and allowed him a pension of 30000 crowns; which liberality he continued even after *France* had lost the kingdom of *Naples*.

The

The end of the war against *Frederick* was the beginning of the discord between the two kings who had divided his dominions: they could not agree upon the limits of their respective divisions, and therefore came to blows about them, the *Spaniards* were commanded by *Gonsalvo de Cordova*, one of the greatest generals of his age; he was even surnamed the *Great*, with a great deal of reason. He was liberal, indefatigable in his enterprizes, and an enemy to all sorts of pleasures; but he had one great fault, which tarnished the lustre of his other shining qualities: he was a stranger to all religion, faith, or honour, that were not dictated by the maxims of policy and war. His forces were at first insufficient to resist those of *France*; he therefore had recourse to artifice. He amused the duke of *Nemours* by frequent conferences, in which he affected to seem desirous of adjusting the differences amicably; but in the mean time he secretly gained the inhabitants of many towns, and also received considerable supplies of men, and when things were in such a situation as he desired, he suddenly made himself master of several of the towns belonging to the *French*, some by force, and others by the influence he had gain'd in them.

The duke of *Nemours*, enraged at being deceived by the artifice of *Gonsalvo*, challenged him to single combat: but this old general replied, that a commander of an army ought only to fight at the head of his troops, and not like a common soldier.

It was a common saying of *Gonsalvo's*, that the web of honour should be woven coarsely; by which he intimated, that one should not be nice upon the point of honour, nor scrupulous upon certain things, which might seem to cast a stain upon it, but suffer them to pass unregarded and without reflection.

Whilst *Gonsalvo* deceived the duke of *Nemours* in *Italy*, *Philip* archduke of *Austria* deceived the king in *France*, and prevented him from sending succours to the duke of *Nemours* against the *Spaniards*. *Philip* had married the third daughter of *Ferdinand* and *Isabella*, who was surnamed the *Fool*, from her having lost her understanding. Her two sisters being dead without children, the

at last became heiress of the kingdoms of *Castile* and *Arragon*. After the death of the archduke her husband, *Charles* her son kept her constantly confined, that her weakness might not be exposed to the eyes of the people. She lived to an extreme old-age, and did not die till the year in which *Charles V* resigned his dominions.

The archduke *Philip*, who had espoused this princess, at his return from *Spain* into *Flanders*, passed through *France*: and, whether the king his father had deceived him, or whether he had entered into a design with him to deceive the king, he upon his arrival at the court of *France*, proposed an accommodation to the king, as having power from *Ferdinand* to treat about it. The conditions which he proposed being reasonable, and he appearing to act sincerely (for orders were at the same time sent to *Gonsalvo* to forbear all hostilities) the king regarding the peace as a thing which would be very soon concluded, neglected the war in *Italy*: *Gonsalvo's* exploits were considered as the actions of a private man, who acted contrary to the orders of his master, and for which the king would receive ample satisfaction, by having all that he had taken restored; so artfully did *Philip* behave in this negotiation, and so well did he disguise the truth: but, when the forces of *Ferdinand* were in the desired condition, the treaty which was almost concluded, was suddenly broken off: *Gonsalvo* recommenced the war, and did it so forcibly, having received supplies both of men and money, that he had conquered the whole kingdom of *Naples*, before the king could send any succours.

Lewis was extremely incensed at this treachery. The archduke, fearing he should be seized, as he well deserved, cast all the blame of it upon *Ferdinand*, and protested that he had himself been deceived by his father-in-law.

The *French* signalized themselves by many actions of extraordinary valour; but, not receiving any assistance, they were constrained to submit to superior numbers. Their last defeat was at the battle of *Cerisoles*, which was fought contrary to the opinions of all the chief officers in the army. *Gabriel d'Alegre*, who had the chief command after the duke of *Nemours*, was the only one that

that was for giving battle; perhaps he was blinded in his judgment upon this occasion, though it was generally very good, or perhaps, foreseeing that they would be defeated, he had a mind to engage the duke of *Nemours*, whose enemy he was, in an engagement from which he could not come off but with shame. His opinion was rejected by all the officers, who plainly saw that the two armies were greatly unequal: but, he reproaching them with cowardice, and even blamed the duke for his timidity, they resolved to give battle. The *French* were defeated, and their general the duke of *Nemours* killed.

Alegre, who upon other occasions had given proofs of an extraordinary courage, and who had boasted that he would himself defeat the enemy, was upon this occasion the first who took to flight. The battle was fought in the year 1503. The remains of the *French* troops, having rallied after their defeat, and having elected the marquis *de Salucio* their general till they received orders from the king, resolved to retire to *Gaeta*.

Gonsalvo pursued them in their retreat, and drove them before him as far as the river *Garillan*. Had *Gonsalvo* been able to pass this river as soon as the *French*, he would have cut them to pieces, so great was their disorder, and so very disadvantageous their situation: but *Peter du Terrail*, a gentleman of *Dauphiny*, so well known by the name of the chevalier *Bayard*, and so intrepid as to be at that time surnamed the knight without fear, stopped the whole army of the enemy, by firmly standing at the entrance of the bridge with twelve or fifteen of the bravest *French* gentlemen in the army. By this gallant defence he gave the *French* troops time to gain a better situation, in which they had nothing to fear from the enemy, who were not able to attack them nor prevent their retreat. *Bayard*, having maintained his ground a sufficient time, retreated with his companions, facing the enemy from time to time, and vigorously charging those who dared to pursue them.

Peter de Medicis had undertaken to convey the artillery to *Gaeta* by boats upon the river *Garillan*; but, a

great storm arising, the boats that were loaden with it were lost, and *Medicis* himself drowned.

Gonsalvo still continued to pursue the *French*, and at last besieged them in *Gaeta*. After some days resistance, the want of provisions and ammunition obliged them to surrender; which they accordingly did upon honourable conditions.

Pope *Alexander VI* acted deceitfully with regard to the king in this war, for he favoured the *Spaniards* upon all occasions: the duke *de Valentinois* also quitted the interests of *France*, and united his forces to those of *Ferdinand*.

Gonsalvo was not rewarded in a manner suitable to the important services he had done his master. *Ferdinand* required him to give an account of the great sums of money he had sent him. *Gonsalvo* replied to those who made him this demand by the order of *Ferdinand*, That the king had given him soldiers who were poor, naked, and without arms, and that he had restored them compleatly armed, well-clothed, and enriched with the spoils of their enemies; that from the king he had received the government of some towns in *Calabria*, and that he had subjected to him a kingdom of incomparably greater value than the money with which he had been furnished.

After the conquest of the kingdom of *Naples*, *Ferdinand* received a very signal affront from *Spain*. *Isabella* queen of *Castile*, his wife, being dead, the kingdom belonged to *Jane* their daughter; but, as this princess had not her senses, *Ferdinand* her Father pretended to the government of the kingdom, as guardian to his daughter, till such time as *Charles*, eldest son of *Jane* and the archduke *Philip*, should be of age to govern it himself: the *Castilians*, nevertheless, excluded him from the government, and gave it to the archduke. This so displeased him, that he resolved never more to return into *Spain*, but to remain in *Italy*, where he was in possession of the kingdoms of *Naples* and *Sicily*. He at the same time sought in marriage *Germaine de Foix*, daughter of *John de Foix* viscount *de Narbonne*, and of *Mary of Orleans*, the king's sister; hoping, that, in favour of this

this marriage, the king would let him remain in quiet possession of the kingdom of *Naples* : and in this he was not deceived ; for the king, in granting him his niece, concluded a treaty with him, by which he ceded the kingdom of *Naples* to *Ferdinand*, in consideration of the sum of 700000 crowns.

About this time died pope *Alexander VI.* The cardinals, being assembled, resolved to elect in his place cardinal *George d'Amboise* : they were inclined to elect him, partly from his merit, and partly through fear of the *French* troops, who were then in the city. But cardinal *Julian*, who wanted to get his friend cardinal *Picolomini* elected, because under him he hoped to have the conduct and government of every thing, undertook to prevent, by his address, the election of *George d'Amboise*. He went to that cardinal, made him many protestations of friendship, and expressed great joy at the college's being disposed to elect him pope : but, at the end of the compliment, he added, that he was obliged to remonstrate to him, as a friend, that, if his election was made while the *French* troops were in the city, his enemies might some time or other reproach him with having him raised himself to the pontificate by force ; that the election had not been free ; and, in fine, that they might, perhaps, make this a pretence to proceed to a new election : he therefore advised him to cause all the *French* soldiers to go out of *Rome* ; and intimated, that so wise and disinterested a behaviour could not fail to augment the publick opinion of his merit and esteem for his person ; and that none would then in the least doubt, but that it was his virtue, and that alone, which had raised him to the pontificate.

Cardinal *d'Amboise*, whose love for true glory was greater than his ambition, and who also thought there was reason in what *Julian* said, caused the *French* troops to depart from *Rome*.

Julian, being now freed from this principal fear, gained such a powerful party, and used so many artifices, that he at last carried his point, by the election of *Picolomini*, who took the name of *Pius II.* But, *Pius* dying a few days after his election, *Julian* found means

to get *himself* elected pope, and took the name of *Julio II.*

Some time after the king fell dangerously sick, and it was thought he could not possibly recover: even the queen his wife despairing of his life, prepared to retire into *Bretagne*, as soon as he should have resigned his breath. Before her departure, she sent away all her most precious effects by the river *Loire*: but the marshal *de Gié* stopped the vessels which carried them at *Saumur*, and refused to let them pass, because he had received no orders from the king. This so enraged the queen against him, that she resolved his ruin. She contrived to get him accused of being concerned in some conspiracies against the state, and obtained leave from the king, that the parliament of *Thoulouse*, which had the reputation of being extremely severe, should be appointed to try him. He was accordingly seized, and sent to *Thoulouse*; and, matters being prepared for the trial, the interrogations and responses were sent by the queen to the most celebrated civilians in *Italy*, to have their opinion upon them. They all declared the marshal guilty of high-treason, and worthy of capital punishment. Nevertheless, whether the parliament was disgusted at being thought capable of serving the passion of an enraged princess, or whether the marshal did not appear to them so culpable as he had done to the *Italian* doctors, they declared him not guilty of the most criminal part of his charge, and, for the other articles of it, were content to banish him from court, in the year 1505.

About this time died the archduke *Philip*. He left his son *Charles* of *Austria*, under the guardianship of the king for the earldom of *Flanders*, and the other territories which he possessed in *Flanders*; judging, that the most certain way to prevent *Lewis* from invading *Flanders* would be, to constitute him the guardian to this young prince. The king accepted this guardianship, and acquitted himself of it honourably. He appointed *Anthony de Croicy* seignor de *Chivres*, a gentleman of very great merit, to be governor of the young prince *Charles*: and from him the prince received an education suitable

able to his high birth, and the grandeur to which he was destined.

Pope *Julio II* had, during his legation in *France*, contracted a particular friendship with the king, who at that time was only duke of *Orleans*. *Julio* desired *Lewis* to continue the same affection which he had formerly shewn him, and to assist him with his forces in a design he had of making himself master of *Bologna*. The king readily granted his request, not only from a desire to please him, but to punish *Bentivoglio*, who at that time was lord of this city, for having formerly refused *Charles VIII* a passage through it at his return from *Naples*, and for having accompanied this refusal with a very insolent answer.

Bologna was accordingly besieged by the pope's troops, which he commanded himself, and by those of the king commanded by *Charles d'Amboise* seignor de *Chaumont*, governor of the *Milanese*: the pope, having made himself master of the city, united it in 1506 to the ecclesiastical state, from which he pretended that it had been formerly usurped.

There had always been great dissensions between the nobles and people of *Genoa* under the government of the count *de Ravestein*: their animosities increased to such a degree, that the people, perceiving themselves the strongest, fell upon the nobles, and plundered their houses: and, when they had done this, foreseeing that the king would punish them for their outrages, they revolted, drove the *French* garrison out of the city, and pretended to re-establish the republick, under the conduct of *Paul de Noue*, a dyer, whom they chose for their duke. This revolt obliged the king to go into *Italy* with such a great army, that it raised the most terrible apprehensions in the inhabitants. Upon the approach of these troops, the *Genoese* made a sally upon the van-guard: the engagement was obstinate; but the *Genoese* were at last repulsed, with the loss of 3000 men.

This bad success, joined to the presence of the king, soon cooled their courage: they sent deputies to him to ask his pardon: the king refused to see them himself,

but sent them to cardinal d' Amboise. They told the cardinal, that the *Genoese* would gladly come to an accommodation with his majesty, and that for this purpose they were deputed to treat about the conditions upon which they would surrender. The cardinal answered, that they must either submit themselves entirely to the mercy of the king, or expect to see their city abandoned to the violence of the soldiers.

The *Genoese*, shocked at this answer, marched out to the number of 40000 combatants, and gave battle to the *French*: but they were defeated, and great numbers of them slain. *Tristan de Salazar*, archbishop, of *Sens*, was present in this battle, and fought valiantly near the person of the king, who also shewed many proofs of his courage and intrepidity. This prelate said to those who appeared surprized at beholding him thus equipped, (for he was compleatly armed, cap à pée,) that, when the king exposed himself to danger, none of his subjects, let their stations be what they would, ought to be exempted from it. The *Genoese*, fearing they should be forced after this defeat, surrounded at discretion to the king, who punished *Paul de Noue*, and some other chiefs of the sedition, with death.

Ferdinand, who at this time was at *Naples*, sent to congratulate the king upon his victory, desired he would permit him to pay him a visit, with the queen his wife, and that he would fix the place where he would receive it. The king appointed the city of *Savona* for this interview. Here the two kings had a long conference together, in which they were assisted by *Antony Palavicini*, the pope's legate, and entered into a resolution to declare war jointly against the *Venetians*.

From thence the king went to *Lyons*, and *Ferdinand* returned into *Spain*. Soon after they both sent ambassadors to *Cambray*, to which place repaired also those of the emperor *Maximilian*, for the conclusion of a league against the *Venetians*. Cardinal d' Amboise assisted in these conferences, as ambassador from the king, as well as legate from the pope. Here it was agreed, that the pope, the king, the emperor, and the king of *Spain*, should in conjunction declare war against

against the *Venetians*, and that the conduct of it should be committed to the king.

Each of these princes had his particular reasons for taking up arms against this republick. The pope and the king of *Spain* wanted to get possession of those places in the ecclesiastical state and the kingdom of *Naples*, of which the *Venetians* had made themselves masters. The king with pleasure embraced this opportunity of being revenged on them for their having constantly thwarted his designs, and behaved treacherously with regard to the treaties they had entered into with him.

The league being thus concluded, the pope, after having summoned the *Venetians* to surrender the towns of the ecclesiastical state, of which they were in possession, excommunicated them; and the king at the same time marched against them at the head of a great army. The *Venetians* opposed him with an army of 50000 men, commanded by *Nicholas Urfin* count *de Petillana*, an antient enemy to the *French*, and *Bartholomew Alviana*. The two armies met between *Caravagio* and *Giaradadda*, two small villages upon the frontiers of the *Milanese*; and here a battle between them was fought. The van of the king's army was commanded by *Charles d' Amboise*, commonly called the seignor *de Chaumont*. The principal officers, who commanded under him, were the dukes *de Nemours* and *de la Tremouille*, the prince *de Talmont* his son, the count *de la Marck*, and the seignor *de Chatillon*.

The voluntiers, who were appointed to sustain the van, were commanded by *Charles* duke of *Bourbon*. He reanimated the *Switzers*, when they were upon the point of being defeated, being ordered by the king, who observed they gave way, to put himself at their head. His presence, his words, but, above all, his valour, inspired them with such courage, that, with a new and most vigorous effort, they broke through those battallions, the first shock of whose attack they had not been able to support.

The king was in the center, having with him *Anthony* duke of *Lorraine*, the duke of *Alencon*, the prince
of

of *Geneva*, brother to the duke of *Savoy*, *Buffy d'Amboise*, brother to the cardinal of that name, *Lewis de Fiesque*, a noble *Genoese*, count *Borromeo*, a *Milanese*, the marquis *de Rothlin*, and *Stuart*, who commanded the *Scotch* archers of the king's guard.

The duke *de Longueville* commanded the rear, and had with him the marquis of *Mantua* and *Montferret*, the seignor *d'Alegre*, and the chevalier *Bayard*.

The *Venetians*, after a long and vigorous resistance, were defeated; and *Alviana*, one of their generals, was taken prisoner. The battle was fought in the year 1509, and was called the battle of *Caravagio*, *Giaradadda*, or *Aignadel*, from the names of the towns or villages in the neighbourhood of the place where it was fought.

Some historians affirm the *Venetians* lost 20000 men; others say only 15000: *Guiccardine* computes no more than 8000. After this victory, all the towns, before which the king appeared, surrendered to him; of which he retained those belonging to the ecclesiastical state: but, the air of *Italy* not being favourable to his health, he returned into *France*; giving his command to the emperor *Maximilian*, who continued the war with more animosity than the king, but with less success; for, having besieged *Padua*, he was obliged to raise the siege; after which he returned into *Germany*, without having done any thing.

About this time died cardinal *d'Amboise*, first minister, sole favourite, and companion to the king in his diversions. To his praise, it has been observed, that, though the whole kingdom was in a manner in his power, and that, consequently, he might have possessed many of the most considerable benefices, yet he never had any other than his archbishoprick. Pope *Julius II.* astonished at the success of the king's arms, was afraid lest he should become master of all *Italy*. He represented to *Ferdinand*, that, it was their common interest to prevent the *French* from becoming too powerful in *Italy*: and he at last prevailed with this prince to league with him and the *Venetians* against *France*. The pope, now wanting a pretence for a rupture, demanded of the king certain towns

towns, upon which the holy see had pretensions ; and, upon *Lewis's* refusal to deliver them, he excommunicated him, interdicted his kingdom, and gave it to the first who could force it from him : a like excommunication, he also thundered forth against all the princes who should espouse the king's interests, and gave their lands and territories to whoever might be able to seize on them ; and, not to be confined to his spiritual force only, he marched at the head of temporal troops against the duke of *Ferrera*, who had engaged in the interests of *France*.

Though the king had all the veneration possible for the dignity of the pope, he, nevertheless, paid little regard to his excommunication, *as having been pronounced without sufficient reason, and from unjustifiable motives*. From hence he took occasion to rally a gentleman with some pleasantry, who complaining to him of the infidelity of his wife ; the king, to comfort him, said, that a man ought not to be sensible of this kind of injury ; and *that the fidelity of a woman might be compared to the pope's excommunication ; it is a terrible thing, if one is afraid of it ; but if one disregards it, it is nothing at all*.

The king, however, to oppose spiritual power with spiritual force, convoked a general assembly of the clergy of *France* at *Tours*, and proposed to them some questions, upon which he demanded their opinion : of these the following were the principal.

1. The pope having excommunicated a prince, with whom he has temporal dissensions, whether this prince is obliged to acquiesce, and hold himself to be excommunicated ?

The assembly, wherein *Frances de Rohan*, archbishop of *Lyons*, was president, replied, that such an excommunication was void, and that no regard ought to be paid to it.

2. The pope having declared himself an enemy to this prince, and having taken up arms against him, whether it was lawful for the prince also to take up arms to defend himself, and to make himself master
of

of the pope's territories, not with a design to keep them, but only to restrain his power?

To this the assembly answered in the affirmative.

3. Whether it might not be lawful for this prince to withdraw himself from the jurisdiction of and obedience to the pope, who endeavoured to raise enemies against him among the other *Christian* princes?

They answered in the affirmative.

4. In case this prince might lawfully withdraw himself from all obedience to the pope, and from his jurisdiction, what rules must he observe in his kingdom with regard to ecclesiastical affairs, in which, before, recourse had been had to the pope's authority?

The assembly replied, that he must observe the ancient common right, and the *pragmatick sanction* made for the discipline of the church of *France*, agreeable to the decrees of the council of *Bale*.

The assembly, moreover, gave it as their opinion, that it would be proper to send deputies to the pope, in the name of the church of *France*, to remonstrate to him the injustice of his procedure, to desire him to relinquish it, and to declare to him, that, if he refused to grant this request, he would be summoned to convoke a general council, according to the decree of that of *Bale*; and that the resolutions of the assembly would be according to the answer which he should make to this summons. All this passed in the year 1511. It must be observed, that this general assembly of the clergy of *France* at *Tours* is placed in the number of national councils.

The pope instead of observing a more moderate conduct, persisted in his violent proceedings: whereupon the clergy of *France* and *Germany*, being joined by several cardinals, united together, and, with consent of the emperor and the king, held a general council at *Pisa*, which was afterwards transferred to *Milan* and at last to *Lyons*. The pope was divested of his pontificate in this council. *Julius* on his side, held a council at *Saint John de Lateran* at *Rome*, wherein he deposed the cardinals and bishops who were in the
council

council of *Lyons*. These affairs remained in this situation till *Julius's* death.

Charles d'Amboise dying about this time, the king gave the government of the *Milanese*, and the command of his armies, to his nephew *Gaston de Foix*, duke of *Nemours*. This young prince defeated the *Switzers* who, (at the pope's solicitations) had entered the *Milanese*, and forced them to take refuge in their mountains. He likewise gained many victories over the *Spaniards* and *Italians*, both separately and united, and obliged them to retire from before all the places which they had besieged. He took several towns from the *Venetians*, and from the pope, and at last laid siege to *Ravenna*, where he was opposed by an army composed of *Venetians*, *Spaniards*, *Neapolitans*, and the pope's forces; all under the command of *Raymond de Cardonne*, viceroy of *Naples*, who undertook to make the duke of *Nemours* raise the siege. But *Gaston* marched against him, gave him battle, and defeated him.

The confusion and slaughter which ensued among the enemy was very great. *Gaston* pursued them a considerable time, and killed many of them in their flight. Being upon his return, with but a small number of his forces, the whole not having been able to accompany him in the pursuit, he observed a battalion of *Spaniards*, under the command of *Peter de Navarre*, which had not been broken, and which appeared to retire in very good order. *Gaston* could not bear to see so considerable a body make such an honourable retreat, when the great army to which it belonged had been so entirely defeated. Those who were with him advised him not to attack this battalion, but rather suffer it to pass unmolested, as the force he had with him was not sufficient to enable him to do otherwise; or, if he was resolved to charge them, that he had better send for more troops, and wait till they came. But *Gaston*, not being able to prevail with himself to let them pass, nor to wait the arrival of more troops, attacked the battalion sword in hand, and was slain by the first discharge which it made upon him, in the twenty-third year of his age.

After

After this victory, which was obtained on *Easter-day* 1512, *Ravenna* was taken and sacked. A great many other places surrendered voluntarily, and the greatest part of the ecclesiastical state was subjected to the king, whose joy for so many and such great successes was not sufficient to assuage his grief for the loss of the duke of *Nemours*; insomuch that he was heard to say, he wished such victories might be gained by his enemies.

The pope, who employed all the means in his Power to stir up enemies against *France*, at last engaged the emperor in the league, into which the king of *Spain* and the *Switzers* had already entered. These last, who had been driven out of *Italy* by the duke of *Nemours*, returned into it in greater numbers, brought with them *Maximilian Sforza*, the son of *Lewis*, took *Milan*, made themselves masters of the rest of that dutchy, and established, themselves, therein, in the year 1513.

The king would have sent against them *Charles* duke of *Bourbon*; but this prince refused the employ, because the king could not furnish him with forces sufficient for so great an enterprize. *Lewis de la Tremouille* was therefore charged with it; but he did not succeed, being defeated by the *Switzers*, and forced to return into *France*. About this time the *Genoese* revolted, and restored their antient form of republican government, under which they had lived, before they were subjected by the dukes of *Milan*. They elected for their duke *Octavio Fregossa*.

The pope did not enjoy the pleasure of beholding all these disgraces, which he had been so very instrumental in bringing upon *France*; for he died, to the very great satisfaction of the *Romans*, leaving his memory in the utmost detestation throughout *Christendom*, the flames of war having by his means been kindled in almost all parts of *Europe*. He called himself, not the successor of *Saint Peter*, but of *Julius Cæsar*, whose name he therefore took. Cardinal *John de Medicis*, who succeeded him, took the name of *Leo X*.

The princes and republicks which *Julius* had leagued against *France* still continued to form new enterprizes.

The

The *Switzers*, who were in possession of the dutchy of *Milan*, passed from thence into that of *Burgundy*, where they laid siege to *Dijon*. The place was defended by *Lewis de la Tremouille*, who, at last, entered into treaty with them, and, in consideration of a sum of money, prevailed on them to raise the siege, and renew their alliance with *France*.

Henry VIII, king of *England*, being desirous to take advantage of the present situation of the king's affairs, crossed the sea, and, in conjunction with the emperor, laid siege to *Terouenne*. The place being in want of provisions, the king ordered *de Piennes*, governor of *Picardy*, to send in a supply, and to have it escorted by all the cavalry and foot, in the several garrisons of his government. *De Piennes* executed his commission very successfully; but, upon his return, being followed by some of the enemy's troops, his soldiers imagining the whole of their army was going to fall upon them, were seized with such a dreadful panick, that, without having ever seen their enemies, they were by their own fears thrown into the greatest confusion, and fled with such precipitation, that the enemy was not able to come up with them. A small number of the officers, and others of rank and more courage (of which the principal were, the duke of *Longueville*, the chevalier *Bayard*, and *Bussy d'Amboise*) resolved not to fly, but wait their enemy, whom they fought valiantly, and were all taken prisoners, except some few that were killed. This was called *The battle of spurs*, because the *French* made use only of them.

Terouenne was taken, and the fortifications demolished. *Tournay* likewise surrendered to the king of *England*, who, being satisfied with the success of his expedition, returned into *England*, bringing with him his prisoners, the duke of *Longueville*, *Bayard*, and *Bussy*. *Ferdinand*, who had promised the emperor and the king of *England* that he would enter *Guienne*, judged it more advantageous for his interests to make himself master of the kingdom of *Navarre*, under pretence, that (*John d'Albert*, king of *Navarre*, having been excommunicated by pope *Julius II*, on account of his not being of the king's party, and his dominions having been

given

given to the first who should seize on them) he might lawfully invade them, though that prince had not declared himself his enemy. All these affairs happened in the year 1513.

Whilst the king was making preparations for the war against the *English*, his queen *Anne* of *Bretagne* died, leaving only two daughters, *Claudia* and *Rena*, in the year 1514. The eldest had been betrothed to *Francis de Valois*, duke of *Angouleme*, first prince of the blood, and presumptive heir to the crown. But, this marriage not being approved of by the queen, the king would not consent to have it accomplished. Moreover, the queen desiring it, he even promised to give this princess to *Charles*, archduke of *Austria*, king of *Castile*, and lord of the *Low Countries*: but he had no intention to keep his promise, because by such a marriage *Bretagne* would have come under the dominion of a prince, whose house was an enemy to *France*. But, the queen dying, the duke of *Angouleme* was at last married to madame *Claudia* of *France*, dutchess of *Bretagne*. About this time the duke of *Longueville*, being a prisoner in *England*, entered into a treaty for the conclusion of a peace, which he at last effected, upon conditions which were advantageous to *France*. He likewise concluded the king's marriage with *Mary*, the king of *England*'s sister, a young princess of great beauty. The king went to receive her, espoused her at *Abbeville*, and then caused her to be crowned at *Saint Dennis*. After this the king's attention was wholly engaged in preparations for the recovery of the dutchy of *Milan*; and all things were in readiness for the execution of this expedition, when he was surprized by death, three months after his marriage, in the year 1515, and in the fifty-fifth year of his age. No king ever had a greater love for his people, nor was better beloved by them.

A few months after his death, queen *Mary*, his widow, was, by the king of *England*, given in marriage to the duke of *Suffolk*, for whom she long had a strong inclination. He was one of the handsomest men of his time, and was a great favourite with king *Henry VIII*, who

who, after having raised him to the most distinguished fortune, permitted him at last to espouse his sister.

FRANCIS I.

THE history of this reign I have compiled from the memoirs of *Martin* and *William du Bellay*, brothers of cardinal *John du Bellay*, bishop of *Paris*. They lived under the reign of *Francis I*, and were considerably engaged in the affairs of that time. *William* was lieutenant-general of the king's armies in *Piedmont*. *Martin* was governor of *Turin*. They both did great services to the king in his wars in *Piedmont*. I am likewise obliged for many things to the *Italian* historian *Guiccardine*, who was a native of *Florence*, and wrote the history of his own times. He lived under the reigns of *Lewis XII* and *Francis I*, and died only six years before this last. I have also made use of *de Thou*, *Belleforet*, and some manuscripts.

As soon as it was certain that the widow of *Lewis XII* was not with child, *Francis* earl of *Angouleme* and duke of *Valois*, first prince of the blood, and presumptive heir to the crown, took upon him the title of king. His father *Charles* of *Orleans*, earl of *Angouleme*, was first cousin to *Lewis XII*, and the grandson of *Lewis* duke of *Orleans*, who was assassinated by the duke of *Burgundy*.

Lewis duke of *Orleans*,

Father of

Charles duke of *Orleans*,—and—*John* earl of *Angouleme*,
father of father of

Lewis duke of *Orleans*, *Charles* earl of *Angouleme*,
King of *France*. father of

FRANCIS I.

Though *Francis I* was of the house of *Orleans*, yet, the dukedom of *Valois* having been given to him by *Lewis XII*, he had taken upon him that title and dignity; and the princes his successors have also borne the same.

He was twenty-one years of age when he came to the crown, and was endued with almost all those good qualities,

qualities, both of body and mind, which might render him, as a man and a great prince, completely accomplished. His countenance was very agreeable, yet suitably majestic: his genius was lively and penetrating, his memory great, courage invincible, and his eloquence extremely persuasive. He had, moreover, a great love for learning and learned men, and was generous, sincere, just, polite, humane, and of easy access to all persons.

These great qualifications would have rendered him the most accomplished prince of his time, had they not been balanced by some faults, which historians have not been very free in mentioning. He wanted application to his affairs, and was too much addicted to his pleasures. He was more eager to undertake great enterprises, than constant and steady in the conduct and conclusion of them. The money destined to carry on his wars he frequently squandered in idle diversions, and thus dissipated his revenues when he had most occasion for them: and this laid him under a necessity of raising fresh supplies by such means as were extremely odious to his people, and rendered his reign, in comparison with that of *Lewis XII*, insupportable. He did not communicate the important affairs of the state to his ministers, making the sovereign authority to consist in this; and was usually advised only by his favourites, who were young and unexperienced. We shall, in the progress of his reign, perceive that all his misfortunes were occasioned solely by his want of application to his affairs, misconduct, and the want of money to pay his troops. Yet, notwithstanding these faults, no prince ever better supported, during the first ten years of his reign, the high opinion which had been conceived of him.

At his coming to the crown, the post of chancellor of *France* was vacant; *Stephen Poncher*, bishop of *Paris*, being keeper of the seals. This high office the king conferred on *Antony Duprat*, first president of the parliament of *Paris*, and afterwards archbishop of *Sens* and cardinal. The post of constable he gave to *Charles of Bourbon*; the government of *Guienne* to *Odet de Foix*, lord of

of *Lautrec*, cousin-german to the late duke of *Nemours*, killed at the battle of *Ravenna*; and appointed *Artus Gouffier*, lord of *Boissy*, who had been his governor, grand master of *France*; entrusted him also with the chief management of affairs, and appointed *Robertet*, the principal secretary, to be his assistant. *Robertet* is thus called by the cotemporary historians, the title of secretary of state not being as yet in use.

The recovery of the dutchy of *Milan* was what the king most ardently desired. Duke *Sforza* had been put in possession of it by the *Switzers*, who had likewise declared themselves the protectors of this dutchy. The emperor *Maximilian*, the antient enemy of *France* leagued with *Ferdinand*, king of *Arragon* and *Naples*, and with *Leo X*, to oppose the king's designs. *Charles* of *Austria*, king of *Castile*, and lord of the *Low Countries*, though he was grandson of the emperor and of the king of *Arragon*, did not engage in their confederacy.

He was but fifteen years of age. His minister was *Antony Croucy*, lord of *Chievres*, whom *Lewis XII* had appointed to be his governor. This gentleman, by his wisdom and prudent conduct, succeeded so happily in forming the mind of this young prince, that he rendered him the most accomplished of his time in the art of government. At the age of fourteen years he had obliged him to receive and read the dispatches which were sent to him from his several provinces, to disclose their contents himself to his council, and speak his own sentiments upon them first: and many being surprized that he should thus fatigue the mind of this young prince, *I am desirous*, said he, *that, if I should die, he may be at liberty, and have ability to manage his affairs himself, and not be the slave of his ministers, nor be obliged to depend on their management.*

De Chievres, judging that it would be advantageous for *Charles* to be at peace with *France*, because of the proximity between that kingdom and the *Low Countries*, made him contract a closer alliance with the king, and conclude a treaty with him; whereby the king obliged himself to give him in marriage madame *Rena* of *France*, second daughter of the late king, by *Anne* of *Bretagne*; and

and to the count *de Nassau*, *Charles's* favourite, *Claudia* of *Chalons*, sister of *Philibert* of *Chalons*, prince of *Orange*.

None of the articles of this treaty were executed, except the marriage of the count of *Nassau*; and by this alliance it was, that the possessions of the house of *Chalons* passed into that of *Nassau*: and thus *Charles* at this time laboured for the aggrandizing of a house, by which his own was afterwards deprived of a considerable part of its grandeur.

The peace with the *Low Countries* being strengthened, and that with *England* renewed, the king concluded a treaty with the *Venetians*, by which they obliged themselves to assist him in the conquest of the dutchy of *Milan*; in consideration of which, the king likewise engaged to assist them in the recovery of those towns, which had been taken from them by the emperor. These were *Bresse*, *Verona*, and some others.

Money was the only thing which the king wanted, and what was most necessary to carry his enterprize into execution. The chancellor *du Prat* proposed to him an expedient for this by the sale of divers places and employments in the state. Indeed, *Lewis XII*, being destitute of money at his coming to the crown, and being unwilling to raise it by taxes upon his people, had disposed of some places in this manner; but these were such as had no power in the disposal either of the lives or properties of his subjects: and even of this he repented, reimbursed those who had been purchasers, and rather chose to risk the alienating his dominions, than sell any of the employments under him.

The chancellor having fixed upon this method of making all offices become venal, and observing no distinction between officers of the revenue and those who had a power over the lives and properties of the subjects, he persuaded the king to dispose of both indifferently. But that the money proposed to be raised by this expedient might come in the quicker, it was thought necessary to add to each parliament a new chamber.

The experiment was tried first on the parliament of *Paris*. A new chamber was created, composed of ten old counsellors taken out of the other chambers, and their

their places supplied by ten new counsellors, to whom they were sold. The parliament used its utmost efforts to prevent a proceeding which at that time was looked upon as highly dangerous, and frequently remonstrated to the king, that those who had bought the power of administering justice would, to reimburse themselves, most certainly sell it.

But all their remonstrances were in vain. The king would be obeyed: and the same alterations were made in the other parliaments. Great sums were produced by the sale of these new employs, not to reckon what was brought in by the old ones, whenever they became vacant.

About this time the king by his generosity attached to his service one of the best of the *Spanish* officers. This was *Peter of Navarre*, esteemed the best engineer of his time. He contrived the art of blowing up ramparts by mines. At the battle of *Ravenna* he commanded the battalion which remained unbroken, though it had been deeply engaged in the battle, and at the attack of which the duke of *Nemours* was killed. The whole army, being incensed by the loss of their general, surrounded these *Spaniards*, and put them all to the sword. *Navarre*, after having fought valiantly, was taken prisoner by the duke of *Alencon*.

His absence gave the *Spanish* generals an opportunity to cast the blame of their defeat upon him: they accused him to *Ferdinand* of having fled the first; and this was the reason why that prince refused to pay his ransom. The king made him the proposal of entering into his service, and accompanied it by some very advantageous offers. *Navarre* desired leave to attempt his freedom once more from *Spain*; which having done, and *Ferdinand* remaining inflexible, he gave up the possessions which he held of him in the kingdom of *Naples*, and accepted the offers of the king, who made him general of the *Gascon* infantry.

The king was likewise desirous to gain the pope in his interests; for which purpose he sent to him as ambassador *William Budeus*, master of requests, and the most learned man of his time. But this important affair

was

was thought upon too late; for the pope was already leagued with the emperor and *Spain*. But these confederate princes were not strong enough to oppose the king's designs, and would probably have made but weak efforts against him, had they not been joined by the *Switzers*. The cardinal bishop of *Sion*, a man of a warlike temper, and fitter for a soldier than a divine, being in the pope's interests, employed the credit which he had among the *Switzers* to raise a powerful army, which entered the *Milanese*, to the number of 50000. This cardinal had served pope *Julius II* against *Lewis XII*, and had always shewn an inveterate hatred against the *French* nation: and, though he was but a private man, he was, nevertheless, the most dangerous enemy *France* had during the reign of *Francis I*.

The confederate princes, contenting themselves with having 50000 *Switzers* armed against *France*, no longer thought of furnishing any troops, as they had promised cardinal *Sion*, but remained spectators, as it were, of the approaching war: the pope alone, finding the *Switzers* were in want of cavalry, sent them 1500 men, under the command of *Prosper Colonna*, a general of great reputation.

The king, after having committed the regency of his kingdom to his mother *madame Louisa of Savoy*, who at that time was stiled countess of *Angouleme*, departed for the *Milanese*.

All the passes through the *Alps* were possessed and fortified by the *Switzers*. It was resolved to attempt to force them, though the danger of it was evident, and the success uncertain: preparations were made for it nevertheless; and they were on the point of making the attempt, when a peasant discovered a passage to the king, through which he affirmed the whole army might pass; and they accordingly did, through a passage which had hitherto been unknown.

This passage was regarded by the enemy as so utterly impracticable, that *Prosper Colonna* had posted himself with his cavalry at the foot of the mountain in a village of *Piedmont* without any advanced guard.

The

The king dispatched the marshal *de Chabanes*, who surprized *Colonna* at dinner, and took him and all his cavalry prisoners.

The *Switzers*, being thus deprived of their cavalry, and observing that the principal towns of the *Milanese* began to surrender to the king, hearkened to proposals for an accommodation, and at last concluded a treaty with the king; the conditions of which were, that they should give up to him the dutchy of *Milan*, in consideration of which, he should immediately pay down the sum of 300000 crowns, and 600000 crowns three years afterwards, and should also settle a pension of 60000 crowns upon *Maximilian Sforza*, then duke of *Milan*.

These conditions were finally concluded, though opposed by the cardinal of *Sion*, and without the participation of colonel *Roff*, who had been elected commander in chief by the thirteen cantons, but was not yet arrived.

Upon his arrival, the cardinal persuaded him to pay no regard to a treaty which had been made in his absence: and he used so many arguments with the other officers, that he at last brought them all to be of his sentiment. His authority in the army was indeed very great, he being there in quality of legate from the pope, and plenipotentiary from the emperor.

He represented to the *Switzers*, that their getting possession of the money which had been promised them by the king only depended upon themselves; for, *Lautrec* being upon the road to the *French* camp with it, it would be easy for them to seize upon it, and then march directly to *Marignano*, where the king was; that they would probably find the *French* defenceless, because they were wholly employed in preparations to enter the city of *Milan* in triumph; and, that being thus unprepared to receive them, they would easily defeat them, might take the king prisoner, and enrich themselves for ever by his ransom and the plunder of his camp; and that after this they would have it in their own power either to make themselves masters of *France*, or to render it tributary.

The *Switzers* being seduced by such flattering chimaera's, marched and posted themselves near where *Lantrec* was to pass: but he, being informed of their motions by a spy, instead of advancing, retired with the money into a place of safety.

The *Switzers*, being thus disappointed in this part of their design, marched to *Marignano*. The *French* army, having received information of their perfidy, was immediately got in readiness, and waited for them in good order. They were received by the constable of *Bourbon*, who commanded the van.

Their general *Rost* had persuaded them to march, as much conceal'd as they could, towards the king's artillery, to receive its first discharge, and then to seize upon it and turn it against him. This they accordingly attempted; and, passing by the cavalry which appeared to oppose them, they marched towards the *Lansquenets*, who had the care of the cannon, in order to attack them. The *Lansquenets* were *German* foot, against whom the *Switzers* had an inveterate and irreconcilable hatred. And these men, observing the *Switzers* pass by the squadrons of *French* cavalry to get at them, without shewing any apprehension of being charged behind, immediately imagined they were betrayed; and that the *French*, in conjunction with the *Switzers*, had abandoned them to the fury of their enemies. They therefore quitted their posts, and retired, though without breaking their ranks: but, when they beheld the constable of *Bourbon* charge the *Switzers* with the *Gensdarmes*, and perceived the black bands advancing to defend the cannon, they immediately regained their posts, and fought with great valour.

The black bands were a corps of 6000 *Germans*, who had been engaged in wars upwards of 20 years. They were looked upon as the choicest of the *German* troops, and had been in the service of divers princes in different countries: the duke of *Guelders* had introduced them into the service of *France*. I have not been able to discover the reason why they were called the black bands. The name might, perhaps, have been taken from

from their ensigns or cloathing: black is indeed a colour much affected by the *Germans*.

The king being come up with the rest of the army, both sides fought with such fury, from two o'clock in the afternoon till night, that, a very great obscurity, which suddenly arose, and entirely deprived them of the light of the moon, having obliged both armies to remit the combat, they were unable to separate, and remained among each other as they then happened to be, reposing themselves till the approach of day.

The king with but a small number of his troops was surrounded by a battalion of *Switzers*, in such a manner, that, had they known his situation, they might very easily have taken him prisoner; but the obscurity of the night deprived both him and them of the knowledge of his situation; his repose was undisturbed, and he slept some hours, without putting off his armour, on the carriage of a cannon. As soon as the dawn of day enabled the two armies to distinguish each other, the combat was renewed.

The battalion of *Switzers*, in the midst of which the king had passed the night, attacked the corps where he was with such vigour, that his person was in very great danger: his horse was wounded in two places, and he received several musket-shot himself, which, but for his armour, might have proved fatal. The black bands hastened to this part, repulsed the battalion, though the strongest of the enemy, and forced them to retreat into the midst of their troops.

The *Switzers*, nevertheless, every where fought with incredible valour and obstinacy: but the artillery made most dreadful havock among the battalions. The grand master *Galliot de Gonouillac* had disposed it so properly, that not a shot was fired without doing execution: it cut down whole ranks of their battalions at once: and, the *Gensdarmes* charging them immediately after the fire from the artillery, they were easily broke and put into confusion. Nevertheless, they maintained the combat even till noon.

But now *Rost*, perceiving that terror and confusion began to be generally spread throughout his troops, and

that it would be impossible to inspire them with fresh courage, ordered a retreat to be sounded, retired in some order, and took the road to *Milan*, leaving 15000 slain upon the field of battle. The king did not pursue them in their retreat, the cavalry being too much fatigued by being twenty four hours without dismounting, and the road they had taken being also dangerous.

The king lost 3000 men, slain upon the field; but the number of the wounded was much greater. In the number of those killed, the most considerable were, the prince of *Talmont*, only son of the duke *de la Tremouille*, *Buffy d' Amboise*, and the count *de Roie*.

The count *de Guise*, brother to the duke of *Lorraine*, and only twenty-one years of age, was forced, half-dead, out of the hands of a body of *Switzers*, who, after having wounded him in twenty-two places, and brought him to the ground, would certainly have killed him, notwithstanding the efforts of a *German* gentleman his equerry, named *Adam*, who covered him with his own body, and received several of the wounds intended to be given the count: but a *Scotch* gentleman of the king's household came very seasonably with some troops to his assistance, attacked the *Switzers*, and put them to flight. Though there were but little hopes of the count's recovery, after having received so many wounds, yet his youth, and the pure habit of his body, saved his life. This battle was fought the thirteenth of *September* 1515.

The king remained three days upon the field, and resolved there to reward the valour of the young nobility who had distinguished themselves, by conferring on them the order of knighthood, an honour which was the greatest they could receive from him. But, it being one of the first laws of chivalry, that no person can confer this honour who has not himself received it, and this being the king's case, he chose to receive it from the chevalier *Bayard*. This was a very great honour done to that officer; and the king thereby shewed that he had the same esteem for him, which all who knew him had, he being regarded as the bravest and most able commander in the whole army.

Within

Within four days after the battle of *Marignano* all the *Milanese* was subjected to the king, the towns having all voluntarily surrendered; and the castles of *Milan* and *Cremona* were the only places which did not follow their example. The duke *Maximilian Sforza* had retired into the former; but, *Peter of Navarre* having blown up part of the fortification by a mine, *Sforza* surrendered the place upon terms; which were, that he should renounce all pretensions to the duchy of *Milan*, and should retire and live privately in *France*; in consideration of which, the king engaged to pay him annually 60000 ducats.

Sforza upon this occasion manifested a want both of courage and greatness of soul: he quitted the castle of *Milan* with joy, and shewed he thought himself happy in being delivered from his dependence on the pope and the *Switzers*, who in *France* could not persecute him. He was not regretted by any; so unworthy did he appear to all of the dignity from which he fell! The king sent him into *France*, and then made his entry into *Milan* with great magnificence. These great successes rendered *Francis I* capable to undertake almost any thing.

It was thought he would march to *Rome*, and, having taken that city, and obliged the pope to accept of such conditions as he should impose, that he would then turn his arms against the kingdom of *Naples*, which was entirely destitute of forces for its defence: but, to the astonishment of all *Europe*, he took none of these resolutions. His impatience to return into *France* was so great, that he would scarce wait the taking of the castle of *Milan*: and, upon the first overtures which were made to him by the pope's nuncio for an accommodation, he concluded a treaty in two days, the terms of which were indeed very honourable for him; but the pope's intention was not to execute them.

Upon this occasion the king (it is not said from what motive) expressed a desire to have an interview with the pope: which desire was most gladly complied with; for the pope more passionately desired it than he, well knowing his own superiority in the arts of negotiation,

and that, by his address, he should probably obtain of him whatever he desired. The place appointed for the interview was *Bologna*, to which they both repaired at the beginning of *December*.

In the first interview, which was purely ceremonial, the king paid the pope all those respects which the pope's master of the ceremonies prescribed: he prostrated himself at his feet, kissed them, was seated upon a lower seat than the pope's, sat bare-headed, the pope being covered, brought him the water to wash at mass, and rendered him many other submissions of this nature, which were regarded by many as beneath the dignity of a king of *France*. But the king upon this occasion had no regard to points of honour: he considered what he did purely in a religious light, and at first told the master of the ceremonies, that he needed only to tell him what he should do, for he would hesitate at nothing, because he did not consider the pope as a temporal prince, but as the vicar of *Jesus Christ*.

The pope, who knew the king was naturally sincere, generous, and very complying when a suitable behaviour was observed towards him, began the negotiations by some matters of but little importance; in which, after some seeming contention, he affected to relinquish his demands, and shew so much deference for the king's desires, that this prince, being overcome by the apparently generous and complying temper of the pope, could not remain firm to his interests in more important affairs, but complied with almost every thing the court of *Rome* wished, particularly in the article of *Naples*.

The pope, whose intention was absolutely to prevent the king's making a conquest of that kingdom, and who foresaw the conquest of it would be inevitable, if the *French* army marched towards *Naples* upon their quitting *Bologna*, made use of an artifice, which succeeded to his wish. He encouraged the king to undertake that expedition, and expressed a great desire to see that part of *Italy* under the dominion of *France*: but he at the same time desired him to defer the enterprize till the approaching spring, because by that time

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an engagement, which by treaty he had entered into with *Spain*, and which he had sworn to observe, would be expired; and that, being at liberty to declare himself openly for the king, he could then give the *French* army an easy passage through his territories, and furnish them with all kinds of necessaries; which he could not do now, because it would be an open violation of this treaty. The king, being deceived by this artifice, deferred the expedition, and by that means lost the opportunity of conquering the kingdom of *Naples*.

The last affair which came under their consideration in this interview was the abolition of the *Pragmatick Sanction*. The king and the pope were equally desirous of this. The king was desirous to regain those privileges which his predecessors had possessed, with respect to the nomination to bishopricks and abbies within their dominions. The kings of the first race had enjoyed this privilege: and, though it had been decreed by the fifth council of *Paris* that elections should be re-established, and though this decree in the year 615 had been confirmed by *Clotaire II*, his successors nevertheless, had shewn but little regard to it, for they almost always nominated successors to the vacant bishopricks and abbies.

Pepin and *Charlemagne* both acted thus. The last, being elected emperor, re-established the election of bishops by a decree, which is in the first book of his ordinances, ch. 84. He, nevertheless, afterwards nominated himself to several bishopricks. His son *Lewis le Debonnair* published a chapter in the year 816, by the second article of which elections were restored; but it contained nothing more than what the emperor his father had decreed upon the same subject.

In the fourth article he declared that he granted all monks the liberty of election to their own abbies, which *Charlemagne* had not done. Nevertheless the emperor continued the custom of nominating bishops and abbots; insomuch that the sixth council of *Paris*, held in the year 829, prayed him to appoint good bishops in the church; and the second council of *Aix-la-Chapelle* warned him of the danger to which he exposed himself,

by nominating the abbots and abbeſſes to ſo many monaſteries.

We have undoubted proofs that *Charles the bald* nominated to ſeveral biſhopricks, among others, to that of *Antun*. The council of *Thionville*, held in the year 844, prayed him to beſtow the abbies, upon eccleſiaſticks and not upon laymen. His ſon *Lewis II*, ſurnamed the *Stammerer*, beſtowed all the vacant abbies upon ſuch as he was deſirous of attaching to his perſon.

Among the ſucceſſors of theſe kings there were ſeveral who gave the cathedral churches and abbies the liberty of electing their prelates; but they ſtill preſerved ſo great an authority in theſe elections, that they were almoſt entirely governed by their will or conſent. In proportion as the troubles of the kingdom weakened the authority of the kings, the clergy gained a greater freedom, and were almoſt entirely free under the kings of the third race; of which but a few nominated to biſhopricks, and that but ſeldom: moſt of them thought it ſufficient, if, as they were obliged, they ſhewed ſo much reſpect for them, as not to proceed to elections without their permiſſion, nor elect ſuch as were diſagreeable to them: and, upon the election of any one, he was preſented to them, to obtain their approbation and replevy of the regales, or right of preſentation; from whence ariſe the revenues of theſe prelacies in moſt parts of the kingdom, and which they obtained by taking the oath of Fidelity, according to ancient cuſtom.

But the popes taking cognizance of all differences which aroſe in theſe elections, frequently found means to beſtow the vacant biſhopricks upon their creatures, without appearing openly to violate the freedom of them, though they in reality deſtroyed it.

Theſe affairs were thus ſituated, when the ordinance of *Charles VII*, called the *Pragmatick Sanction*, compoſed of the degrees and canons of the council of *Bale*, reſtored the antient freedom of elections, and ſuppreſſed the abuſes introduced by the court of *Rome*.

For theſe reaſons the pope and the king were equally deſirous to abolish the *Pragmatick Sanction*. The only difficulty

difficulty was, upon what terms it should be done; the king and the pope both wanting to be gainers by it. At last, however, they came to an agreement; by which the king abolished the *Pragmatick Sanction*, and the pope consented that the king should nominate to the bishopricks and abbies of his own dominions. The terms more particularly were, that, when a bishoprick or an abbey became vacant, the king, within six months should nominate a person having the requisite qualifications, to succeed: these qualifications were, that he should not be under the age of twenty-seven, having the degree of doctor or licentiate in divinity or laws, and being of good morals: in all which points the pope reserved to himself the power of examining and judging; obliging himself also, in case the person nominated by the king should be found by him to have the necessary qualifications, to grant him his bulls and other the usual rights upon admission to a benefice. If the king did not nominate in six months, he was to have three other months; after which the right of nomination was in the pope: and those who were nominated by the king were obliged to pay the pope, before they obtained his bulls, the *Annats*, or one year's revenues of the benefices to which they were presented.

The other principal articles were, that the pope, for himself and his successors, should renounce all right of reservation, and of granting mandates for benefices, before they became vacant: but, in regard to the ecclesiastical patrons of benefices, he should have a right of nomination before them, except to those benefices, the nomination of which was granted to the king. None were to appeal directly to the pope from the sentence of the chief judge; nor should appeals be made to the holy see, till after sentence had been pronounced by the other Judges, under whose jurisdiction the affair would naturally fall. Benefices became vacant in the months of *January*, *April*, *July*, and *October*, should be conferred only on graduates, in case they requested them.

When this agreement was presented to the parliament of *Paris* to be published and registered, it met

with great difficulties. The parliament strongly remonstrated to the king on so important an affair. But at last, the king having declared that he would be absolutely obeyed, the parliament did register the agreement: but they added this clause; *That it had been done only at the king's express and repeated command.*

The conference of *Bologna* ended by the promotion of the bishop of *Coutanes*, brother of the grand master *de Boissy*, to the dignity of cardinal. The king returned into *France*, leaving the constable of *Bourbon* governor of the *Milanese*. Immediately after the king's departure the pope began to fail in the observance of his promises. He privately assisted the enemies of *France*, and excited insurrections in the *Milanese* by means of *Moron* the chancellor of that dutchy. The constable informed the king of this, sent him undeniable proofs of the truth of it, and desired his permission to treat the pope as an enemy; but to this the king would not consent. The constable was so disgusted by this behaviour of the king, that he resigned to him the government of the *Milanese*, and desired him to bestow it on another. The constable was replaced by the seignor *de Lautrec*, brother of the countess of *Chateaubriant*, who then possessed the king's affections.

The post of admiral being vacant, the king conferred it on *William Gouffier de Bonivet*, brother of the grand master *de Boissy*. He was of the same age with the king, had been brought up with him, was greatly beloved by him, and possessed all his favour.

The death of *Ferdinand* king of *Spain*, grandfather of *Charles* archduke of *Austria*, which happened in 1560, caused a great change in the general state of affairs. *Charles* found himself obliged to go into *Spain* to take possession of the dominions which his grandfather had left him. It was also of consequence for him to be at peace with the king, and by a treaty to put an end to the differences, which had subsisted between *France* and the late king of *Spain*, touching the kingdoms of *Naples*, and *Navarre*. He therefore pursued all the measures which were proper and necessary to effect this: the deputies from the two kings repaired to *Noion*; the grand

grand master *de Boissy* from the king of *France*, and the seignor *de Chievres* from the archduke.

They concluded a treaty; the articles of which were, that the king of *France* should assist *Charles* archduke of *Austria*, lord of the *Low Countries* and king of *Spain*, to take possession of the territories depending on the crowns of *Castille* and *Arragon*: that an offensive and defensive alliance should subsist between *France* and *Spain*: that *Charles* should relinquish the pretensions of the emperor his grandfather, and should espouse *Louisa* of *France* the king's daughter, then only one year old, whose dowry should be that part of the kingdom of *Naples*, which *France* was to have by the partition which had been made of it in 1502 between *Lewis XII* and *Ferdinand*; and, in case the marriage should not be consummated, this part of the kingdom of *Naples* should be restored to *France*. Finally, *Navarre* within six months should be restored to *Henry d'Albert*.

These according to our historians, are the principal articles of the treaty of *Noion*. But some years after the *Spaniards* disclaimed them, and produced another instrument of the same treaty, wherein no mention was made of restoring the kingdoms of *Naples* and *Navarre*; but only that the most eminent civilians of *Europe* should examine whether the king of *Spain* had a right to these kingdoms; and, in case these civilians should declare he possessed them unjustly, then they should be restored. The two kings, as a testimony of their mutual friendship, sent each other their orders; *Francis*, that of *Michael*, and *Charles*, that of the *Golden Fleece*.

The pope laboured indefatigably to ruin the *French* in *Italy*; and, though the king was well informed of it, he had, nevertheless, so much veneration for the holy see, that he at this very time assisted the pope with forces to regain the dutchy of *Urbino*, which had been reconquered by its duke, in prejudice of whose right the pope usurped it.

Thomas de Frix de Lescun, brother of seignor *de Lautrec*, was charged with this expedition. He retook all the towns of this dutchy, and put them in possession of

of *Laurence de Medicis*, the pope's nephew. In recompence of this action, *Lescun* was made a marshal of France, and ever after was called the marshal *de Foix*.

The emperor *Maximilian* of *Austria* dying in 1518, his grandson *Charles* king of *Spain*, and *Francis* I, both pretended to the empire, and solicited the electors for their suffrages. This competition did not at first destroy the peace and friendship subsisting between them; they even complimented each other upon it. The most christian king acquainted his chatholick majesty, that upon this occasion they ought to consider themselves as two lovers making their addresses to the same lady; that their pretensions ought not to destroy their friendship; that, whichever of them should not have the good fortune to succeed, he ought neither to envy his rival, nor have recourse to arms to be revenged: and, in regard to himself, he protested that this should be his behaviour. The catholick king made the same protestations: but the conclusion was not conformable to these beginnings.

The king sent the admiral *de Bonivet* with great sums of money to gain the electors; but, whether the ministers of *Charles* were more able, or whether the good fortune of this prince prevailed over the liberalities of *Francis*, and against all the other measures which he had taken, *Charles* was, however, elected emperor, at the age of twenty-one years, and was the fifth of this name, from whence he has always been called by our historians *Charlequint*. Their competition was the cause of a war between them, which lasted longer than their lives. Princes usually take arms against each other not from any personal hatred, but the enmity which from hence arose between *Francis* and *Charles*, was reciprocal, constant, and inveterate.

The emperor's exterior advantages were not equal to those of the king; his person was little, and his aspect mean: but he had an admirable genius and capacity for the government of an empire, a very singular penetration and foresight, and an indefatigable application to his affairs. He was also artful, dissembling,
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and treacherous, pretended to justice and religion whenever either of them might promote his designs, and despised both when they were useless, or contrary to his ambition. With these good and bad qualities, it was easy for him to obtain great advantages over such a prince as *Francis I*, who was generous, sincere, faithful, courageous and ambitious, but wanted knowledge in and application to his affairs.

As the intention of *Charlequint* was not to execute the treaty of *Noion* in regard to the kingdoms of *Naples* and *Navarre*, and *Francis* being resolved to do himself justice by force of arms, the two princes prepared for war. An alliance with *England* was of importance to both: and *Francis* sought it with the greatest diligence and assiduity. He had an interview with *Henry VIII* between *Ardres* and *Guines*; but, the two kings being young, and loving their pleasures, they soon neglected discoursing on affairs, left them to be negotiated by their ministers, and thought only of rejoicing and taking their pleasure together. Fifteen days were spent in feasts, tournaments, and other diversions; after which the two kings separated; the chancellor *Du Prat*, the king's minister, having been able to obtain nothing more of *Wolfey*, cardinal of *York*, and prime minister of *England*, than that king *Henry* would remain neuter in regard to *France* and the emperor.

The king of *England* was at *Calais*, when he received advice that the emperor was arrived in *England* to have an interview with him. *Henry*, therefore, immediately quitted *Calais*; and the consequence of their interview was an agreement, whereby *Henry* was to be arbitrator of the differences between *Francis* and *Charles*, and should take arms against *France*, in case it should refuse to submit to his arbitration. The emperor had even the address so to engage *Henry* in his interests, that he promised to favour him upon all occasions, even in prejudice to the king of *France*, in the year 1520.

The same year pope *Leo X* excommunicated *Luther*, a religious of the order of *Hermits* of *Saint Augustin*. The occasion of this excommunication, and the origin
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of the schism which *Luther* has caused in the church, was as follows :

The pope caused the *Croisade* to be preached in *Germany*, and granted great indulgences to those who would give money to defray the expences of the war against the *Turks*. On this pretence great sums were raised throughout *Christendom*. The *Dominicans* paid the pope certain sums, at certain times, for his commission to publish and preach these indulgences, and receive the money of the faithful ; and herein they had made great progress, and gained vast riches. The *Augustins*, being disappointed of their share in these profits, to which they pretended a right, were disgusted, and complained that the pope had granted solely to the *Dominicans*, what the *Augustins* had customarily shared with them : but their complaints were vain and of no effect. Their jealousy then animated them to traverse and disappoint the proceedings of their adversaries, and, by all the means in their power, prevent their enjoying the benefits of their preference. As great abuses were practised in the manner of preaching these indulgences, as well as by the traffick made of them by granting them for money (for the *Dominicans* extended them to such things as the church had no power to grant, such as assurances of not being damned, whatever life one might lead, and other things of this nature) the *Augustins*, therefore, preached against these abuses. The most celebrated of their preachers was *Luther*. He began to preach in 1517 at *Wirtemberg* in *Saxony*. At first he only preached against the abuse of indulgences ; and maintained disputations against these abuses. The *Dominicans* disputed with him ; but he maintained his doctrine and supported it on the authority of the holy scriptures and the fathers. The heat of disputation having carried him great lengths, he at last preached openly against indulgences themselves. The pope, being incensed at this conduct, resolved to have him punished by his superiors, and then insisted that the secular magistrate should punish him also. But this only animated *Luther*, who, finding himself supported by the *German* princes,

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who were at variance with the pope, preached against the court of *Rome*, and against the personal irregularities of *Leo X.* He then attacked his authority; maintained he had none out of his own diocese, and that what he exercised over the universal church was an usurpation and tyranny, which all *Christians* ought to oppose. The pope, thinking it would be easy to suppress this religious only by using his authority, excommunicated him, and declared him an heretick. But *Luther* was supported by *Frederick* elector of *Saxony*, by *Philip* landgrave of *Hesse*, and some other princes: and, this protection inspiring him with confidence, he publicly burnt the pope's bull at *Wirtemberg*, and appealed for his sentence to a future council. This happened in 1520.

And now, no longer observing any measures, he preached and wrote against the custom of saying low masses, as an abuse; against vows of a religious life; against the whole discipline of the church; and at last against its doctrine touching the sacrament of the eucharist, maintaining that the substance of the bread and wine was not changed into the body and blood of *Jesus Christ*, but that it remained the same after its consecration as before. He likewise attacked the other sacraments, and laid the foundations of the *Lutheran* religion, which reigns at this day in a considerable part of *Germany*, and in all the *Northern* kingdoms. It was in a very short time spread and established in many different places; and the religious of both sexes were every-where seen to renounce their profession, and embrace a doctrine which permitted them to marry and enjoy all other liberties. *Luther* was himself solemnly married some authors say, to a secular lady of quality; but others affirm, it was to a canoness named *Catharine de Bora*.

In the year 1521 the war openly commenced between the king and emperor, in *Navarre*, on the confines of *Champagne*, and in *Italy*. The seignor d' *Asparaut*, brother to *Lautrec*, received orders from the king to throw himself into *Navarre*; which he effected so successfully, that in the space of fifteen days he reconquered

reconquered the whole of that kingdom : and, from thence pursuing his successes, he penetrated deeply into *Castile*. The *Spaniards* were then divided by domestick troubles ; but the progress of their common enemy, having compelled them to a pursuit of their common interests, they united against the *French*, and forced them to retire, not only out of *Castile*, where they had made themselves masters of some towns, but even out of *Navarre* and they took *Asparaut* himself prisoner. Thus this kingdom was again lost as suddenly as it had been gained.

In the mean time, *Robert de la Mark* lord or prince of *Sedan*, and possessor of *Bouillon*, commenced war against the emperor on the frontiers of *Champagne*. His ancestors had been attached to the service of the dukes of *Burgundy*, as being beholden to them for their fortune ; for *Philip the Good* had caused *Oliver de la Mark*, his steward of the household, to espouse the heiress of *Sedan*. The acquisition or usurpation of the duchy of *Bouillon* from the bishoprick of *Liege*, which had been facilitated by a bishop of that city, who was allied to their house, was a farther augmentation of their fortune. After the death of the last duke of *Burgundy*, the seignors *de la Mark* attached themselves to the service of *France* ; till *Robert*, having received some disgust from *Francis I*, espoused the interests of *Charles of Austria*, and served him very usefully ; for by his endeavours, and those of his brother the cardinal of *Liege*, he excluded *Francis* from the imperial dignity, and procured it for the king of *Spain*. But, *Robert* being naturally inclined to change, and incapable of brooking the least offence, he soon after changed sides again, through a cause of discontent given him by the emperor. He pretended to be sovereign prince of *Bouillon*, and was extremely jealous of his sovereignty. Now, an appeal had been made from the court of justice of *Bouillon* to the imperial chamber ; and the emperor, by his letters patent, had authorized and declared this appeal to be just and right.

The duke of *Bouillon*, who pretended that his court of justice had a right to judge sovereignly and in dernier resort,

resort, was so incensed by this infringement of his privileges, that he embraced the interests of *France*, on conditions very advantageous to himself. The emperor tried all means to appease him, and even offered to revoke the letters patent which had given him such offence; but he rejected this satisfaction, and replied with disdain, that he was able to gain a greater by force of arms.

Some days after, the emperor holding the diet of the empire at *Worms*, a herald sent by the seignor *de la Mark* declared war against him in the presence of the whole diet. This action was considered as extremely insolent by all the princes of the empire, who could not bear that such a petty prince, because he pretended to the rights of sovereignty, should therefore so far fail in his respect to the emperor, as to send him a defiance: for this was the term in use even at this time. The cardinal of *Liege* was so incensed by it, that he abandoned his brother's interests, and raised forces for the emperor. *Robert de la Mark*, after the declaration of war, entered *Luxemburg* with the *French* troops, and besieged *Virton*.

The admiral *de Bonivet* in the mean time attacked *Navarre*; but, though the war was vigorously pursued in these two different places, the peace between the two crowns was not absolutely broken; because on one side, it was carried on in the name of the king of *Navarre*, and on the other in that of seignor *de la Mark*. The expedition to *Navarre* was not very successful; it ended by the taking of *Pontarabia*, which was afterwards retaken by the enemy.

The emperor sent the count *de Nassau* to oppose the seignor *de la Mark*. *Nassau*, after having defeated him and deprived him of part of his territories, concluded a truce with him, and then entered with his forces into *France*, where he took *Andres*, *Mouzon*, and laid siege to *Mezieres*.

In the mean time the deputies from the emperor and the king of *France* were met at *Calais* to determine the differences subsisting between these two princes by a treaty; but, the *Spaniards* persisting in unreasonable demands, the negotiation was broke off, and they retired

tired without doing any thing. They demanded the restitution of the dutchy of *Burgundy*, and that the homage due from the emperor to the king of *France* for the earldom of *Flanders* should be abolished ; because, said they, it was not right that an emperor should render homage to a king of *France*.

The count *de Nassau* pressed the siege of *Mezieres* with vigour ; but the place was defended by too brave a commander to be easily taken. It was defended by the chevalier *Bayard*, who had several officers of merit under his command ; among others, *Charles Boucard de Refuge*, who had the command of a thousand foot : *Ann de Montmorency*, a young nobleman of high birth and great merit, threw himself into the place, to embrace the opportunity of signalizing his courage, and of learning under *Bayard* the art of defending a fortress.

Though the efforts of the besiegers were very vigorous, the resistance made by the besieged was equal to them ; and the count *de Nassau*, after having been two months before the place, was forced to retire. The king, to recompence, the gallant behaviour of *Bayard*, conferred on him the order of *Saint Michael*, and gave him a company of an hundred men.

Though the king had commenced the war, and had reason to expect being attacked by his enemies, he had, nevertheless, provided so little against it, that, when the count *de Nassau* attacked his frontiers, he was destitute of an army to oppose him. But, having at last raised some forces, he took *Bouchain* and *Hesdin*, and then marched against the emperor, who was near *Valenciennes*. In this march he gave the command of the van to the duke of *Alençon*, first prince of the blood ; which extremely disgusted the constable, because it had always been customary, when the king commanded the army in person, for the constable to command the van. The emperor, not daring to wait the king's arrival, retired with great precipitation, leaving his army under the command of his lieutenants. His retreat terrified and discouraged his forces.

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The king followed them, and came up with them in a place where they were situated so disadvantageously, that he might have attacked and defeated them with ease: but historians say he did not know how to take advantage of the opportunity: he deliberated in his council what he should do; and it was not therein judged proper to attack the enemy, on account of a thick fog, which prevented their exact situation from being discovered. After the loss of so fair an opportunity, the king was obliged to dismiss his troops; for, as there was no regulation in the finances, by which to hinder those who had the management of them from appropriating part of them to their own use, nor to prevent the king's dissipating the remainder in his pleasures, he was therefore usually without money; and upon this occasion was forced to disband his troops upon the approach of winter, because he had not wherewithal to furnish their subsistence. This always gave his enemies great advantages over him; for, as they had their forces always in readiness, they took the field as soon as ever the season would permit, and frequently made themselves masters of several places, before any army appeared to oppose them. This was the case the ensuing spring, when the imperial army besieged and took *Tournay*, and some other places, before the king was able to send any forces to oppose their progress.

The affairs of *France* did not succeed better in *Italy*. *Leo X* had leagued with the emperor, the *Florentines*, and most of the princes in *Italy*. By the terms of their confederacy, they were to use their joint efforts to force the *French* out of *Italy*: the pope was to have the dutchy of *Parma* and *Placentia*; and *Francisco Sforza*, brother of *Maximilian*, who had relinquished his right to the dutchy of *Milan* to the king of *France*, was to be put in possession of the *Milanese*, and maintained in it.

Prosper Colonna, a *Roman* baron, and the same whom marshal *de Chabanes* had taken prisoner at the passage of the *Alps*, was chosen captain-general of the confederate forces: the marquisses of *Mantua* and *Pescara* commanded

manded under him ; the first the popes forces, and the second those of the emperor.

Before this confederacy, the marquis of *Mantua* had been in the service of the king of *France*. But a cause of dissatisfaction given him by *Francis* had made him change sides. He had the command of a company of an hundred men ; *Boucard de Refuge* was his lieutenant, and pretended to command the company, and fill up the vacancies in it, independently of his captain ; saying, the king of *France* had only intended to give the marquis the title, the rank, and the honour of captain, but not the command of the company. The king having determined the difference in favour of *Boucard*, the marquis of *Mantua* quitted his service.

Jerome Moron, chancellor of *Milan*, was principally concerned in forming the league against *France*. The treatment he had received from the *French* had obliged him to abandon *Milan* : from whence he had retired to *Trent* ; and, though absent, he contributed greatly by his secret practices to make the *Milanese* shake off their obedience and fidelity to the king. The first conquests of the confederate forces were *Parma*, *Placentia*, and *Cremona* : they afterwards subjected all the *Milanese*, and even forced the city of *Milan* to surrender.

Historians greatly blame the imprudent conduct of *Lautrec*, governor of this dutchy, particularly for his acting from the suggestions of his own fancy without consulting the officers of his army. They nevertheless attribute the loss of the *Milanese* to the want of money, which was the cause of most of the ill successes, and of the desertion of the *Switzers*, who by degrees quitted the army of *Francis*, and entered into that of his enemies, excepting only a very small number, which continued in the service of *France*.

The *Swiss* cantons, being informed that their subjects were divided between the two armies, determined not to suffer them to fight against one another ; and, in consequence of this resolution, they sent orders to all of them, without distinction, to return home. Two couriers were dispatched to the two armies with these orders. But the cardinal of *Sion*, being informed of it, caused the courier who carried these orders to the confederate

federate army to be stopped upon the road ; so that the *Switzers* who were therein, receiving no orders to the contrary from their superiors, still continued in it ; while those who were in the king's army obeyed the summons they received to return into *Switzerland*.

Leo X did not long enjoy the pleasure of having ruined the *French* affairs in *Italy*. He died suddenly, aged only forty-four years, in 1521. It was believed by some, that *Barnaby Malespino*, the pope's steward of the household, poisoned him, by putting a poisoned pill among those which he constantly carried about him in a box to take whenever he found purging necessary.

The cardinals being assembled to appoint him a successor, the emperor had such influence over the conclave, that he got cardinal *Adrian*, who had been his preceptor, elected pope. *Adrian* was a *Flemming* of mean birth, had been cardinal but a short time, and was unknown to almost all the cardinals, having never been in *Italy* : they elected him nevertheless ; not daring to oppose the will of the emperor. He did not change his name upon his election to the pontificate, but retained the same he had borne before, and was the sixth so called.

While these affairs passed in *Italy*, the emperor assembled the diet at *Worms* : *Luther* was cited before them ; and, having obtained the emperor's safe conduct, he appeared, and maintained his doctrine with a boldness which bordered upon insolence ; which so incensed the emperor, that he commanded him to retire : perhaps, *Luther* was not sorry to see a division formed, the consequences of which were very advantageous to himself.

About this time *Henry VIII.* king of *England*, published a very learned book, which he had wrote in defence of religion, against the heresies of *Luther* : for which the pope conferred upon him the title of *Defender of the Faith*.

Lautrec, not being able longer to resist the confederates, sent his brother the marshal *de Foix* to the king, to represent to him the situation of affairs, and
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press him to send succours both of men and money. Francis immediately sent into *Switzerland* the bastard of *Savoy* grand master of *France*, the marshal *de Chabanes*, *Galeas de Saint Severin*, and the seignor *de Montmorency*, there to raise 16000 men, with orders afterwards to march them into the dutchy of *Milan*. The 16000 *Switzers* were raised, and brought into the *Milanese* to *Lautrec*, under whom the marshals *de Foix* and *Chabanes* served as lieutenant-generals, though *Lautrec* himself was not a marshal of *France*.

These *Switzers* were of no service: for, *Montmorency* having been ordered by *Lautrec* to besiege *Navarra*, he formed the siege with some *French* and part of the *Switzers*; and, his artillery having made a sufficient breach, he commanded the *Switzers* to begin the assault; but they replied, they were ready to fight in the open field, but that they would not begin the assault. *Montmorency*, not being able to prevail with them, posted them upon an eminence, where they might be seen by the besieged; and then dismounting his horse (for he had no foot) he led them to the assault, and made himself master of the place. The inhabitants were all put to the sword, except a small number, who, having escaped the first fury of the soldiers, were afterwards hanged, in punishment of the cruelties which they had exercised upon the *French* who had before fallen into their hands.

The *French* were now as much hated in the *Milanese*, as they had been loved in the time of *Lewis XII*. This aversion was caused by the disorders they committed from a want of money; for the soldiers, not being paid, could not be kept in so strict a discipline as in the preceding reign. Their outrages were tolerated; and, this toleration augmenting their insolence, they used all kinds of violences to extort money, and whatever else they wanted; which behaviour rendered them so odious, that they were no longer regarded but as the most cruel enemies.

Boucard de Refuge, who had the care of the artillery at the siege of *Navarra*, by the bursting of a cannon had one of his legs broke; of which wound he died.

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The taking of this place, and some reinforcements of troops which arrived in *Italy*, began to restore the king's affairs ; and his forces were in so good a condition, that the enemy's troops dared no longer to keep the field against them. *Lautrec* took such effectual measures to cut off all supplies of provision, both from the confederate forces and the revolted towns, that *Milan*, *Pavia*, and many other places were forced by famine to surrender : but the refractoriness of the *Switzers* ruined these promising appearances ; for, as they were not paid, because no money could be got to pay them with, they mutinied, and sent their colonels to require *Lautrec* either to pay them immediately, dismiss them, or lead them the next day to attack the enemy.

Lautrec remonstrated to them, that the enemy was intrenched in an advantageous situation, and was too strongly fortified to be forced ; but, as they were in want of provisions, and as all means of procuring them were cut off, they would in eight days be compelled to quit their situation : he begged them, therefore, to have patience till that time, and promised that then they should have money : but they persisted in their obstinacy, and prayers and intreaties were in vain.

The marshals *de Foix* and *de Chabanes* were for suffering the *Switzers* to depart, because the army of the enemy was not in a condition to keep the field, even against the *French* forces only ; besides that, they would infallibly be forced in a few days to disband of themselves, through an absolute failure of provisions. The confederate forces were chiefly composed of *Germans*, who had frequently mutinied before, and were now unable longer to support the miseries of famine ; for which reason it was judged more adviseable to suffer them to disperse of their own accord, than to attack them in a situation wherein there was no probability of forcing them, and out of which they could not retire without being entirely defeated. They were encamped about a league from *Milan*, at a villa named *Bicoque*, whose gardens were surrounded by broad and deep trenches,

trenches, and were sufficiently large and spacious to contain the whole confederate army.

Lautrec, who never followed any advice of which he was not himself the author, acted upon this occasion in his usual manner. Instead of dismissing the *Switzers*, he resolved to attack the confederates with all his forces. The *Switzers*, began the attack; but, finding the trenches broader and deeper than the length of their pikes, they were suddenly stopped short. Their approach cost them a thousand men; but, being animated by shame and vexation at their disappointment, they threw themselves into the trenches, and endeavoured to gain the parapet; but their attempt was impossible. The enemy in the mean time fired upon them so effectually, that they killed two thousand of them presently. Terror succeeding to their temerity, they thought of nothing but getting out of the trenches: those who did get out escaped; but most of those who entered the trenches were slain in them; among others, colonel *Albert de la Pierre*, who was the author of their mutiny. During this, the marshal *de Foix* forced the trenches on the side where he had attacked them, and had penetrated into the midst of their camp; but, not finding himself supported, he was forced to retire. Such was the battle of *Bicoque*, wherein the enemy defeated 16000 *Switzers*, and repulsed the *French* troops without quitting their intrenchments.

The duke of *Urbino*, general of the *Venetian* troops, greatly contributed to this bad success. The *Venetians*, having entered into a league with *France* against the pope and the emperor, had sent some forces to join the *French*; but *Urbino*, who had the command of them, was not favourably disposed to the *French*; on the contrary, he sought to do them a disservice; and he considered *Lautrec's* imprudent enterprize as a favourable opportunity. Accordingly, he refused to join the attack, and posted himself with his forces in a place of security, where he remained a quiet spectator of the combat. To say the truth, a different behaviour could
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not reasonably be expected from him, after having been deprived of his territories in favour of the pope.

The loss of the battle of *Bicoque*, and the retreat of the *Switzers*, disabled *Lautrec* from keeping the field any longer; so that the enemy got provisions, and the *French* army for want of pay dispersed: the *Venetians* also retired: and *Lautrec*, finding himself of no farther service, returned into *France*, passing through *Switzerland*, unnoticed, and being accompanied only by two of his domesticks.

About the same time that the king lost the dutchy of *Milan*, the knights of Saint *John* of *Jerusalem* lost the island of *Rhodes*, from whence they were forced to retire, after a long and vigorous resistance, by *Solyman* emperor of the *Turks*.

Viterbo served them for a retreat, till the emperor gave them the isle of *Malta*, as a bulwark to *Sicily*. These knights must at this time have been very rich; for their grand master *L' Ile-Adam*, offered the Grand Seignior to reimburse all his expences in the war provided he would raise the siege of *Rhodes*. Its situation rendered it very convenient for cruizing upon the coasts of *Turkey* and *Syria*, and its port was frequented by all the merchants of *Europe* who traded in the *Levant*. It was at that time thought strange, that the emperor and *Leo X* should suffer a place of such importance to be taken: but their animosity against *Francis I*, prevailed over the general interest of *Christendom*.

Lautrec being arrived at court, the king at first refused to see him; but, this favour, at the request of the duke of *Montmorency*, being at last granted him, the king reproached him with the loss of the dutchy of *Milan*, and imputed it wholly to him. *Lautrec*, with a boldness which a consciousness of guilt could not have inspired, replied, that his Majesty himself, by a neglect of his affairs, had been the cause of the loss of this dutchy; for, though he had frequently informed his majesty, that the forces, being unable longer to subsist for want of money, would inevitably separate, yet none had ever been sent to him.

The king replied, that he had sent him considerable sums two different times; and *Lautrec* affirming he had never received them, the king sent for *James de Baune*, seignor de *Saint Blancy*, superintendant of the finances, and asked him, whether he had not given him orders to send these sums into *Italy*? The seignor de *Saint Blancy* replied, that his majesty had indeed given these orders, but that the money had never been sent; because, at the very instant when it was ready, his majesty's mother the dutchess of *Angouleme* had seized upon it, notwithstanding he had represented to her, that it was destined for the army in *Italy*, and that there was no more in the treasury. The king, being incensed at this, reproached the dutchess in very strong terms. She replied, that she had indeed caused the pensions due to her to be paid at the time *Saint Blancy* mentioned, but not with the money destined for the army in *Italy*; and that *Saint Blancy* must certainly have converted it to his own use: and she at the same time demanded justice for the injurious aspersion this officer cast upon her by an imputation of so dishonourable an action.

Saint Blancy was old, and was beloved by the king, who usually called him his father: he nevertheless caused him to be imprisoned, and appointed commissioners to try him; the chief of which was the chancellor du *Prat*, a man absolutely devoted to the dutchess, and the declared enemy of *Saint Blancy*. It was long before the tryal was determined; but at last *Saint Blancy* was adjudged guilty of embezzeling the publick revenues, was condemned to be hanged, and was executed accordingly.

Prosper Colonna, general of the confederate forces, taking advantage of the absence of the *French*, approached the city of *Genoa* with design to make himself master of it. He caused the marquis de *Pescairo*, who commanded the *Spanish* infantry, to march before him; and, upon his appearance before the city, the *Genoese* sent deputies to treat with him: but, while they were in conference in his tent, the *Spaniards*, having discovered a breach in the walls, attacked the city without orders from their general, defeated those who defend-
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ed the breach, made themselves masters of the city, and plundered it.

Count *Peter de Navarre*, who had entered *Genoa* with two hundred *French* soldiers, had but just time to fortify himself in the exchange or bank ; where he defended himself for some time with great vigour ; but at last surrendered, upon condition that he should be treated as a prisoner of war. Had he not taken this precaution, the *Spaniards* would have treated him as a traitor and rebel to his king ; for they had resolved to hang him.

The king of *England*, instead of observing the neutrality which he had promised, had leagued with the emperor against *France* ; and, their forces being united (those of the emperor under the command of the count *de Bure*, and those of *England* under the earl of *Suffolk*) they laid siege to *Hesdin* : but the place was so vigorously defended by its governor the seignor *de Biez* ; and the duke *de Vendome*, governor of *Picardy*, who kept the field with an army to obstruct their proceedings, so frequently cut off their convoys, defeated their parties, and forced their quarters, either in person, or by his lieutenants the counts *de Saint Paul* and *de Guise*, and the seignor *de Pontdormy de Crequy*, that after they had spent two months before the place, they were forced to retire. The *English* repassed the sea, and the imperialists returned into *Flanders*.

The king, imputing his bad success in *Italy* to the negligence or incapacity of his officers, resolved to go thither in person, to regain what he had lost. After the necessary preparations, he set forwards in the month of *April* 1523. But the information which he received, that *Charles* constable of *Bourbon* was treating with the emperor, obliged him to defer his departure. The constable of *Bourbon* had long been dissatisfied ; and the king's mother the dutchess of *Angouleme* had been the occasion of his discontent. Some have believed, that she secretly loved this prince, and that she persecuted him in revenge for his having slighted her.

She it was who had caused him to be deprived of the command of the van at *Valenciennes* : and she at last found means to dispute his right to the succession of *Susanna*, daughter of the duke *Peter de Bourbon Beaujeu*, whose possessions according to the articles of the marriage contract, whereby they were to descend to the survivor, he had inherited. The dutchess of *Angouleme* was a daughter of *Peter of Bourbon's* sister, and first cousin to *Susanna*. The constable, well knowing the influence of the dutchess, could not hope to preserve his possessions ; so that he beheld his whole fortune in a manner upon the brink of destruction.

The emperor, being informed of the situation of his affairs, made him an offer of his protection, which the constable accepted. They agreed, by a treaty which they both signed, that, as soon as the king of *France* should have passed the *Alps*, the emperor should cause a powerful army to march through *Languedoc* into *France* ; that the constable should declare himself openly against *Francis*, and should cause the provinces which depended upon himself to declare against him likewise ; that the 14000 *Germans* in *Franche-Comté* should join him in *Auvergne*, to undertake whatever he should think proper ; that he should espouse *Eleanor of Austria*, the emperor's sister, and widow of the king of *Portugal*, whose dowry should be the Two *Burgundies* ; and that on the day of their marriage the emperor should create and declare him king of *Burgundy*.

The king received general informations of this negotiation, but no positive proofs, nor circumstantial particulars. He therefore went to the constable at *Moulins*, where he pretended sickness to avoid accompanying *Francis* into *Italy*.

The king told him, he had received information of his union with the emperor ; that he was come to advise him to break it, and continue faithful to his country and king ; and that he would engage to restore him his possessions, in case he should lose his cause with the queen his mother. The constable, with the most artful dissimulation, replied, that the emperor had indeed made him some advantageous offers to gain him
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in his interests; but that he had rejected them, and had resolved to acquaint his majesty with it, though not till his health would have permitted him to do it in person, because he thought so important a secret ought not be imparted to any one.

The king, believing he spoke with sincerity, exhorted him to continue always faithful to him, and ordered him to follow him into *Italy* as soon as his health would permit. The king was advised to secure the person of the constable; but, besides that he was naturally averse to all violence, he thought he could not behave thus to a person of his rank barely upon suspicion.

Immediately after the king had quitted *Moulins*, the constable quitted it also, taking the road to *Franche-Compté*. The king, being informed of this behaviour, which so manifestly discovered his rebellious designs, sent persons after him to stop and seize upon his person. The prince, though he had quitted the common roads, found himself pressed by his pursuers; but he escaped nevertheless, by walking cross the country, and ordering his horses to go through ways contrary to those which he took. He arrived safely in *Burgundy*, and from thence went into *Italy*. His retreat prevented the king's going out of *France*: for he judged his presence might be necessary to defeat the intrigues, which the constable might carry on in the kingdom. He contented himself with sending his forces into *Italy* under the command of the admiral *de Bonivet*, who was indeed very unfit for it, being both hated and despised by the officers and soldiers. The seignor *de Montmorency*, whom the king had made a marshal of *France*, and the chevalier *Bayard*, commanded under him.

All *Italy* was leagued against *France*. The pope, the *Venetians*, the *Florentines*, and all the other princes were in confederacy with the emperor. Nevertheless, they were not strong enough, when united, to resist the *French* forces: They abandoned all the places in the *Milanese*, except *Milan*, *Cremona*, and *Pavia*: and in all these places the admiral placed garrisons, which greatly diminished his forces. He besieged *Milan*; wherein *Prosper Colonna*, general of the confederated,

had retreated, and *Colonna*, though sick, defended the place with such vigour, conduct; and resolution, and succeeded so well in supporting the *Spaniards* and *Italians* under the rigours of a scarcity of provisions, that the severity of winter, already far advanced, seconding their patience, and destroying the *French* army, forced them at last to raise the siege. The *French* were but just decamped from before *Milan*, when *Prosper Colonna* died. He was replaced by *Charles de Lanoy*, viceroy of *Naples*, who brought with him a reinforcement of troops, so considerable as to enable the confederates to face the *French*, who were greatly weakened by the siege of *Milan*: and, to complete their misfortunes, the plague broke out among them; in consequence of which, the enemy regained most of the places they had abandoned.

Affairs were in this situation when the constable arrived in *Italy*. Offers were made him from the emperor, either to go immediately into *Spain*, and espouse queen *Eleanor*, or to stay in *Italy*, and command the forces: but, as the emperor's intention was not that he should embrace the former of these offers, those by whom they were made at the same time represented to him, with great address, that it would be more glorious for him to command the army, than to shew himself in *Spain*, a fugitive, and deprived of his possessions; that it would be soon enough to go thither when he had driven the *French* out of the *Milanese*, and had made himself master of *Burgundy*; and that then he would appear with a better grace before the princess destined to be his spouse. This advice being agreeable to the constable's inclination, he very readily followed it: but the emperor would not confide in him so far as to give him the sole command of his troops: *Lanoy* had an equal power; and even a third was joined to them, which was the marquis de *Pescaire*. The constable was highly disgusted at this but he dissembled his resentment. In the mean time he was tried in *France*, was condemned as a rebel, and his possessions adjudged to *Louisa* of *Savoy*.

The king having sent to him to demand the sword of constable, and the order of *Saint Michael*, he replied, that the sword had been taken from him at *Valenciennes*, by taking from him the command of the van; and, as for the collar of the order, he had left it in his house at *Chatelle*, under the pillow of his bed.

About this time died pope *Adrian VI*. The emperor's faction proving most powerful in the conclave, the cardinal *de Medicis*, cousin-german of *Leo X*, was elected to succeed him, and took the name of *Clement VII*.

The admiral *de Bonivet*, instead of prudently preserving the remainder of his troops, resolved to expose them to the event of a battle. With this design he marched against the enemy, who were situated between *Navarra* and *Romagnano*, believing that he should be joined in the way by the 5000 *Switzers*, which the king was to send him. *Lanoy* was for avoiding a battle; but the duke of *Burgundy's* opinion was followed; which was, to fight the *French*, before the arrival of the *Switzers*. Nevertheless, the *Switzers* did arrive a day before the imperialists attacked *Bonivet*, but they were incensed against this general for having neglected his promise to send cavalry to the foot of the mountains to escort and protect them against the cavalry of the enemy; and, as they had been frequently attacked and harrassed in their march for want of this escort, they were so offended at *Bonivet*, that they refused to join him, and encamped separately, having the river *Serre* between him and them; saying, they would remain in this post to serve as a retreat to such of their nation as should be willing to retire to them.

Bonivet, being disappointed, and not being strong enough to engage alone, thought only of retreating from the danger into which his imprudence had drawn him. For this purpose, he ordered his army to face about, and placed himself, with his best officers, in the rear, to secure their retreat.

The imperialists, who had advanced with design to give battle, perceiving their intention, immediately attacked them. *Bonivet* from their first discharge re-

ceived a shot in the arm, which disabled him, and obliged him to retire, and leave the command to the chevalier *Bayard*, who acquitted himself with such courage and good conduct, that he repulsed the imperialists, and saved the *French* army: he received a shot through his body, of which he died four hours after. He nevertheless supported the engagement, after he had received this wound, till the army had got into a place of safety. He then caused himself to be placed on the ground under an oak, with his face towards the enemy, and, for want of a priest, with great humility confessed his sins to his valet de chambre. This circumstance has been related by all our historians.

The duke of *Bourbon*, coming to the place where he was, and finding him in this condition, expressed great grief for his misfortune: *There is no occasion to grieve for me*, said Bayard, *for I die honourably, in the service of my king and country, and with a good name; but I grieve for you, for fighting against your lawful sovereign, whom both your birth and your oath should oblige you to serve.* He also told this prince, that, as he followed the examples of *Themistocles*, *Coriolanus*, and *Cæsar*, he had reason to apprehend their fate.

The marquis *de Piscairo*, one of the lieutenant-generals of the imperial army, offered to give him all necessary assistance, and ordered his wound to be examined and dressed; but, *Bayard* being sensible it was mortal, and that this could not be done without making him suffer exquisite pain, he desired them to let it alone. The marquis therefore only ordered a tent to be provided for him, and that he should be attended with great care, and his life preserved, if possible. After he was dead, the marquis caused his body to be embalmed, and sent it to his friends in an honourable manner. Indeed, the wisdom, courage, and probity of this great man were universally known and respected even by his enemies.

The *French* forces, being no longer able to face the enemy, abandoned the *Milanese*, and retired into *France*: and the admiral *de Bonivet* appeared at court, where he

he was as well received by the king, as if he had returned crowned with victory.

At the same time that the duke of *Bourbon* and *Lanoy* drove *Bonivet* out of the *Milaneſe*, the emperor cauſed an army of 30000 men to enter *Guyenne*. Their irruption was ſo ſudden, that *Lautrec*, governor of this province, into which he had retired ſince his return from *Italy*, had only time to throw himſelf into *Bayonne*; which the enemy beſieged; battered it furiously with their artillery, and, after having made a ſufficient breach, made the aſſault, which continued three days and nights without intermiſſion; during all which time *Lautrec* never once abandoned the breach, but ſuſtained the efforts of the aſſailants with incredible valour, and at laſt repulſed them with ſuch conſiderable loſs, that they quitted the breach, and immediately raiſed the ſiege.

They did not meet with ſuch a reſiſtance at *Fontarabia*. This place was ſtrong, well provided with every thing, and the gariſon numerous; but *Franget* its governor, wanting ſpirit and reſolution, ſurrendered without making ſuch reſiſtance as he might. In puniſhment of his cowardice he was at *Lyons* degraded of his nobility. Thoſe whom the king appointed to perform this, erected a ſcaffold in the miſt of the city, on which *Franget* was brought, and in preſence of all the people, and the ſoldiers, who were drawn out upon this occaſion, was degraded of his nobility for cowardice and neglect of his duty at the ſiege of *Fontarabia*.

In *Picardy* the enemy gained ſome advantage: 15000 *Engliſh* under the command of the duke of *Norfolk*, and the ſame number of imperialiſts commanded by the count *de Bure*, ravaged and plundered the whole province, took *Roie* and *Mondidier*, and burnt them. Some *Lanſquenets*, raiſed by the duke of *Bourbon*'s order, and commanded by the count *de Furſtemberg*, entered *Campagne*, and began to ravage and plunder it; but the duke of *Guiſe*, and *Anthony de Crequy* ſeignor of *Pontdormy*, ſoon forced them to retire.

In the year following, which was 1524, the duke of *Bourbon*, having the ſole command of the imperial army,

my, entered *Provence*, and besieged *Marseilles*: his design had been to penetrate into the heart of the kingdom, and there to besiege some considerable place of less strength than *Marseilles*; but, an entire confidence not being reposed in him, he was not permitted to do this; and the emperor fixed on *Marseilles* alone for him to besiege. The duke of *Bourbon* flattered himself, that, as soon as ever he should enter *France* at the head of his army, all the inhabitants would declare in his favour: but he found his hopes were vain, all continuing quiet in their duty.

The siege of *Marseilles*, from the vigorous resistance made by the besieged, was long; which gave the king time to come to its assistance. He marched towards it in person, at the head of 50000 men, with a resolution to give the enemy battle; but the duke of *Bourbon* did not wait his coming, raising the siege with great precipitation. The king followed him into the *Milanese*, with a resolution to undertake the conquest of that dutchy, though it was in the month of *October*.

The city of *Milan* surrendered upon his approach; after which the king deliberated in his council, whether he should pursue the flying enemy, or besiege *Pavia*: the most knowing were for the former; saying, that, after they had either defeated the enemy, or forced them to retire out of the country, they might then with ease make themselves masters of all the fortified places. Nevertheless, it was resolved to besiege *Pavia*: in consequence of which, the king divided his army into three parts: the first he commanded himself, marshal *de Chabanes* commanded the second, and marshal *de Montmorency* the third.

The artillery having in two days made a sufficient breach, the king ordered marshal *de Foix* to give the assault; but they found the breach so well intrenched and fortified within, that it was not judged possible to force it: whereupon they retired, and the king ordered batteries to be erected in other places.

The city was defended by *Anthony Leva* a Spaniard, who, from a private soldier, had, by his merit, raised himself

himself to the rank of a colonel of horse. He did his duty perfectly well during the whole of this siege. The vigorous resistance made by this garrison cost the lives of many brave soldiers, and several gallant officers of distinction; among others, the young duke of *Longueville*, who was killed by a musket-shot.

The duke of *Bourbon*, finding *Francis* engaged in the siege of *Pavia*, immediately repaired to the duke of *Savoy*, detached him from the interests of the king, and found means to engage him in those of the emperor: he even got all his jewels from him, with leave to borrow money upon them: whereby he easily raised vast sums, and returned with great expedition into *Germany*, where he employed the money in raising 16000 *Germans*, which he caused to march towards the *Milanese*, under the command of *Fronspberg*, a *German* general, who had embraced the doctrine of *Luther*, and was a great enemy to the pope.

In the mean time *Clement*, being solicited by the *French* ambassador, and believing the emperor's affairs were entirely ruined in *Italy*, entered into a league with *Francis*, and pressed him to undertake, not only the conquest of the *Milanese*, but of the kingdom of *Naples*; promising to give him all the assistance in his power. In compliance with the pope's solicitations, the king detached part of his army, under the command of the duke of *Albania*, to attempt the conquest of *Naples*. The duke of *Albania* was very successful, and made a great progress in a short time; the chief cause of which proceeded from the whole kingdom's being destitute of forces, and the garrisons every where extremely weak.

Lanoy was so astonished at the success of the king's arms, that he accepted the conditions of peace offered to him by the pope, which were extremely advantageous to *France*: and the emperor, despairing of the preservation of *Naples* and the *Milanese*, consented to them. But the advices which *Lanoy* received from the duke of *Bourbon* gave a sudden change to the face of affairs: *Lanoy* had no expectation of assistance from this prince, who was even regarded as a useless man, when the account was received that he was at the head of 16000 *Germans*, all veteran troops, and ready to march.

This

This news revived the courage of the imperialists. The king was at the same time weakened by the retreat of 6000 *Switzers*, who abandoned him and returned home, by orders from their superiors, who recalled them for the defence of their own country. This was effected by a contrivance of the emperor, who caused *Cbiavennes*, a town in the territory of the *Grisons*, to be surprized by *Medequin*, an officer of an enterprizing genius, and a domestick of the *Sforza's*, whom the emperor promised to maintain in the possession of whatever they should be able to conquer; not doubting but the *Switzers*, alarmed by this attempt, would not fail to recal their troops; which they accordingly did.

The duke of *Bourbon*, having joined *Lanoy*, advanced with him towards *Pavia* with design to throw some forces into that place, and even give battle to the king, in case a favourable opportunity offered. *Francis* called a council of war to deliberate what might be proper to be done. The old officers, such as the seignor *de la Tremouille*, who was seventy-five years of age, the marshals *de Chabanes* and *de Foix*, *Galliot de Genouillac* grand master of the artillery, and several others, were for raising the siege, and posting the army in the army in the *Chartreuse*, an advantageous situation, and very strong, and to suffer the enemy to enter *Pavia*; because, as they were in want both of provisions and money, they must in a few days have been necessarily obliged to abandon it, and would then have dispersed of themselves.

The truth of this was undoubted; for a letter had been intercepted from the marquis *de Pescairo*, acquainting the pope, that a general want of all necessities was so great in the army, that they had no hopes of being able to prevent its disbanding before fifteen days were expired; of which eight were elapsed since the writing of this letter. The admiral *de Bonivet* alone opposed this general opinion: he said it would be shameful and dishonourable for the king to fly from his enemies, and that it would be more worthy of his glory and power to march against them and give them bat-

tle.

tle. His advice was followed: they marched towards the enemy; and a battle was fought between them on the 24th of *February* 1525.

The king's artillery at first made most dreadful havoc among the squadrons and battalions of the enemy; but the king himself, by his impatience, prevented its completing their destruction: he marched in between them and the artillery, whose firing was thereby interrupted, and the imperialists saved; for they would certainly have been destroyed by the cannon alone, had the king given time to the grand master, who conjured him, in the strongest terms, not to interrupt what he had so successfully begun. Prodigies of valour were shewn on both sides, and the combat continued with great obstinacy: but at last the *French* were defeated; principally by the good conduct of the duke of *Bourbon*, and the courage of the troops under his command.

All those who were about the king's person were slain: and this prince, having his horse killed under him, found himself surrounded on all sides, and ardently pressed by the soldiers, who burnt with a desire to take him: yet, the king, not seeing any officer of distinction to whom he might with safety surrender, continued to defend himself: there was, indeed, reason to be apprehensive, many being eager to take him, lest the chagrin of disappointment should incite some of them, as it were in revenge, to kill him. He was in this situation, when a *French* gentleman, named *Pomperan*, who had followed the fortunes of the duke of *Bourbon*, placed himself by his side, and assisted him with his sword to keep off the press of the soldiers, who crowded to take him; till at last, *Lanay* being come up, the king surrendered to him.

In this battle all the officers of distinction in the army were either killed or taken prisoners; comprehending almost the whole nobility of *France*. The chief among the slain were, *Francis* of *Lorraine* father of the duke of *Lorraine*, *Lewis de la Tremouille* aged seventy-five years, *Galeas de Saint Severin* grand Ecuyer of *France* the marshal *de Chabanes*, and the admiral *de Bonivet*.

Among

Among the prisoners were, *Henry d'Albert* king of *Navarre*, the count *de Saint Paul* prince of the house of *Bourbon*, the marshal *de Montmorency* the grand master of the artillery, *Martin du Bellay* seignor *de Langey* (who has written the history of his own time) the bastard of *Savoy* grand master of *France*, and the marshal *de Foix*; the two last died a few days after of their wounds. The duke of *Alençon*, who had fled upon the first appearance of the defeat, conceived so much shame and remorse for having been guilty of an action so unworthy of himself, that he died of it.

The king was conducted into the enemy's camp; where three slight wounds, which he had received, one in the face, another in his left arm, and a third in his right hand, were dressed. At supper the viceroy of *Naples* gave him water to wash, and the duke of *Bourbon* on the knee presented him the napkin: some historians say, he refused it; others, that he received it, and even caused the duke of *Bourbon* to sit down with him at table. The next day the viceroy conducted him into the castle of *Pissigbitone*, a place of great strength; where he remained for some time under the care of *Alarçon*, a *Spanish* gentleman, who upon all occasions treated him with the highest respect.

It was upon this occasion that the fortune of *Montpezat* a gentleman of *Quercy*, first commenced: he was a private man in the company of marshal *de Foix*, and was taken prisoner in the battle; the evening after which, by permission of the person whose prisoner he was, he was present with the king, when he was going to repose, and offered to undress him, there being none of his officers to render him this service. The king accepted his offer, was pleased with his manners, conceived an affection for him, and demanded him of the *Spanish* officer who had taken him; promising him an hundred crowns over and above his ransom. He afterwards employed him in negotiating his liberty, and in many other affairs; in all which *Montpezat* acquitted himself perfectly well, and, by his merit and his master's affection at last gained the dignity of a marshal of *France*.

The

The king of *Navarre* was a prisoner of consequence to the *Spaniards*: the least thing he had to fear was a perpetual imprisonment. The marquis *de Pescairo*, whose prisoner he was, refused a hundred thousand crowns, which this king offered him for his ransom, and confined him in the castle of *Pavia*, till he received the emperor's orders: but the king of *Navarre* found means to corrupt two of his guards, by whose assistance he made his escape, while the rest of them very carefully guarded his page, who, having placed himself in his master's bed, pretended sickness the whole day, to prevent his flight from being discovered.

The news of the defeat and taking of the king caused a universal consternation throughout *France*: nevertheless, his mother, the dutchess of *Angouleme*, and queen regent of the kingdom, was not discouraged by it: she ordered *Andrew Doria*, general of the gallies of *France*, to go with them to the kingdom of *Naples*, receive on board the *French* forces who were there under the command of the duke of *Albania*, and bring them into *France*. She sent ambassadors into *England*, who negotiated so successfully with *Henry VIII*, that he offered the queen regent all the assistance in his power, and promised her to employ those forces in the deliverance of the king and defence of his kingdom, which he had raised with a design to attack him: and he even confirmed these promises by a treaty which he concluded with her: though this was kept a secret; because *Henry VIII*, being leagued with the emperor, and bound to his interests, by another treaty, did not think it prudent to break with him without some pretence: and he therefore caused publick rejoicings to be shewn at *London* for the taking of *Francis*, though he was at the same time secretly concerting the necessary measures to set him at liberty.

When the emperor in *Spain* received the account of so great a victory, which put into his power the person of so powerful and formidable an enemy, he shewed the greatest and most unparallelled moderation: he ordered a solemn thanksgiving to be returned for it by publick prayers; but he absolutely forbad all publick rejoicings.

joicings. He declared to all the ambassadors in his court, that he would make use of the advantage he had gained only to establish a firm and durable peace between him and *France*, whereby he might be at liberty to turn his arms against the *Turks*, the common enemies of Christendom: and, to satisfy the *Italians* that his design was not to reduce all *Italy* into a single monarchy, and then render himself master of it, he gave the investiture of the dutchy of *Milan* to *Francisco Sforza*, and put him in actual possession of the city and castle, and some other places. In the mean time, he passed whole days in deliberating in his council what he should do with his prisoner: and his trouble and perplexity on this account were inexpressible. Some advised him generously to restore him his liberty; others, to keep him in perpetual imprisonment, and, by means of the duke of *Bourbon*, and the force of arms, to attempt the conquest of all *France*; finally, others were for restoring the king his liberty, only upon his complying with such conditions as should be proposed to him.

This last advice was followed. The count *de Reux*, grand master of the emperor's household, was immediately sent into *Italy* to assure the king that the emperor would restore him his liberty, upon condition that he should renounce his rights and pretensions to the kingdom of *Naples* and the dutchy of *Milan*, should restore the kingdom of *Burgundy*, abandon the sovereignty of *Flanders* and *Artois*, and should separate from his crown *Provence*, *Dauphiné*, *Bourbonnois*, and *Auvergne*, to be formed into a kingdom, and given to the duke of *Bourbon*.

The king rejected these conditions, and declared he would sooner die in prison than alienate a single province of his kingdom, and that, had he been inclined to this, he could not do it without the consent of the three states.

The duke of *Bourbon* began to perceive the emperor had no design to execute the articles of their agreement: and, on the other side, the marquis *de Pescairo* complained the emperor did not keep his word with him.

These

These two generals, communicating to each other their mutual causes of dissatisfaction, jointly agreed to do themselves justice, and in concert labour the re-establishment of their affairs: they resolved to make themselves masters of the king's person, and to restore him his liberty, after having first obliged him to relinquish his rights to the kingdom of *Naples* in favour of *Pescairo*; who considered it as a conquest which he could complete with ease, and to restore the duke of *Bourbon* to all his possessions, honours, and employments, and give him in marriage the dutchess his sister, widow of the late duke of *Alençon*. It was easy for them to execute what they proposed in regard to the person of the king; because they were then masters of the army; *Lanoy*; having no more authority than what they pleased to give him.

They therefore declared to *Lanoy*, that the king must be transported to *Naples*; and they made him so perfectly sensible, that his opposing this would be in vain, that, not being able to do otherwise, he consented to it. *Lanoy*, having great penetration, immediately perceived their intention, and considered his prisoner as lost to the emperor, which chagrined him extremely; for he had great fidelity and attachment to his master's interests: he however dissembled his sentiments, in hopes some favourable opportunity might occur, whereby he might by his address prevent what he had not power to oppose.

Thus the king was so situated, that the emperor was no longer master of his person; and *Francis* was on the point of regaining his liberty, though contrary to the intention of him whose prisoner he was: yet, had *Bourbon* and *Pescairo* been both unconcerned in this, the princes of *Italy*, being mindful of their own safety; had begun to unite, with design to procure the king his liberty, and thereby prevent the emperor from becoming master of all *Italy*. *Charles* was unable to prevent the execution of their design; because these princes, when united, were superior in strength to him; and it was impossible for him to transport the king out of *Italy*, the gallies of *France* being masters of the sea.

Affairs.

Affairs were in this situation, when the king himself by his impatience prevented his obtaining his liberty. Weary of his captivity, as much as a man the most incapable of continuing for any time in a state of inaction could possibly be, he flattered himself, that, by going into *Spain*, and negotiating his liberty with the emperor in person, he should readily obtain it, and on easy conditions: this thought he communicated to *Lanoy*; who, considering it as an infallible means to secure his person, confirmed him in it, magnified the generosity and good-nature of the emperor, and promised to conduct him into *Spain*, provided he would himself contribute to it by an observance of two things; the first, to keep it a profound secret, and not discover the least part of the design, either to *Bourbon* or *Pescairo*, whose interest it was to prevent the execution of it; the second, to furnish his own gallies, having first disarmed them, to convoy him on his voyage. The king promised all that *Lanoy* required, and kept his word with him. His gallies came by his order without any soldiers; which *Lanoy* filled with *Spaniards*, and embarked in them with the king, in sight and with the consent of *Bourbon* and *Pescairo*, who believed they were going to *Naples*; the king and *Lanoy* acting in concert to deceive them.

The king arrived safely in *Spain*; but at *Madrid* he presently discovered the error he had committed by coming into a place from which no human force could set him free, and where he found himself at the absolute mercy of an enemy, who might keep him in perpetual imprisonment, and dispose of his person in whatever manner he should think proper: in whom also he found not the generosity, nor even the kindness, with which he had flattered himself.

He was not permitted to see the emperor; and was given to understand that he could not hope for this, till after he had agreed to the conditions on which his liberty was to be restored. He was lodged in the castle of *Madrid*, and had leave to come out of it as often as he pleased, provided he was mounted only upon a mule, and always surrounded by his guards.

The

The king was so extremely chagrined at being used in this manner, that he fell sick, and was even in great danger of his life. The emperor, being apprehensive lest he should die, and he be thereby deprived of the fruits of his victory, visited him, and promised to restore him his liberty upon easy conditions. This promise diminished his chagrin, and his sickness also; but what contributed most to the recovery of his health, was the arrival of his sister *Margaret* dutchess of *Alençon*, who, having obtained a safe-conduct of the emperor, came to see him. *Margaret* began immediately to treat about the king's liberty; but, finding at last that the emperor would relinquish none of his demands, she returned immediately into *France*, leaving *Francis de Tournon*, archbishop of *Ambrun*, who was afterwards archbishop of *Bourges* and cardinal, to continue the negotiation with the emperor. The king, on the departure of this princess, charged her with a power, by which he gave the government of the kingdom to the dauphin his son, with leave for him to be crowned; shewing hereby, that he was resolved to die in prison, rather than purchase his liberty on the injurious and dishonourable conditions proposed to him.

The emperor caused the dutchess of *Alençon* to be pursued, with orders to seize her immediately on the expiration of the safe-conduct; but she was so expeditious, that on the last day of the safe-conduct she gained the frontiers of *France*; where she found the seignor *de Clermont* waiting for her with so good an escort, that her pursuers dared not attempt the execution of their commission.

The king's imprisonment proved fatal to the countess of *Chateaubriant*. Her husband took this opportunity to make her feel the effects of his jealousy and revenge, by causing her veins to be opened, and most inhumanly suffering her to bleed to death.

The king being no longer able to support his imprisonment, and the emperor abating somewhat of his demands, the treaty for his deliverance was at last signed at *Madrid* Feb. 14, 1526.

The

The conditions were, that there should be a perpetual peace between the two crowns; that the king should be restored to his liberty upon the 10th of *March* next ensuing upon the frontiers of *Fontarabia*, and on the 20th of *April* should restore the dutchy of *Burgundy* and its dependencies to the emperor, and should put him in possession of them; that he should cede to him the sovereignty of this dutchy and of the earldoms of *Flanders* and *Artois*; that, at the same time when the king should be set at liberty, he should give the dauphin and his second son as hostages, till the complete execution of the treaty; that he should espouse queen *Eleanor*, the emperor's sister, and widow of the king of *Portugal*; that he should, during three months, at his own expence, maintain a fleet of fifteen gallies and eight ships, to accompany the emperor when he should go to be crowned in *Italy*; that, as soon as he should be at liberty, he should restore the duke of *Bourbon* to all his possessions and honours, without obliging him to return into *France*; and finally, in case of failure in the performance of any of these articles, he should return to his imprisonment.

All *Europe* was astonished to behold that the emperor, with all his prudence, and his strong desire to gain solid advantages by his possession of the king's person, had nevertheless taken his measures so ineffectually: for, as, according to the treaty, the first article to be executed was to restore the king his liberty, could the execution of the others be expected, after he should have obtained this? On the contrary, could there be any doubt that the first thing he would do would be to disown a treaty, into a compliance with which he had been forced?

Gatinara, the emperor's chancellor, not only disapproved, but even absolutely refused to seal it; saying, it was neither honourable nor serviceable to the emperor: not honourable, because the emperor therein treated his prisoner ungenerously and injuriously: not serviceable, because there was no security for the execution of it, it depending intirely on the will of the king; and, that chiefly for this last reason he disapproved it.

The

The emperor being at last incensed by his refusal, *Gatinara* presented him the seals, saying he might seal it, if he pleased. The emperor took the seals, sealed the treaty, and then commanded *Gatinara* to take them again; which after a long and obstinate refusal, he at last complied with.

When the king arrived on the frontiers of his own kingdom, he found there the two princes his sons, who were put into the hands of the *Spaniards* in exchange for their father.

A few days after, the ambassadors of the emperor, who accompanied the king, pressing him to ratify the treaty, he declared to them, that, if the emperor would have money for the ransom of his children, he was ready to give it him; but, as for the ratification of the treaty, it was what he must not expect, it being void; because, when he signed it, he was not free, but a prisoner, guarded very closely, and not upon his parole, as a prince of his rank ought to have been; and that he had often warned the emperor, that, if it was expected he should execute what he promised, nothing should be required of him that was not just and equitable.

What most surprized these ambassadors was to hear a declaration, in all the towns through which they passed with the king, of an offensive and defensive alliance between *Clement VII*, *France*, *England*, the *Venetians*, the *Switzers*, and the *Florentines*, called *The Holy League*; which was to restore *Italy* its liberty, drive all foreigners out of it, and put the whole dutchy of *Milan* in possession of *Sforza*, who had then only a part of it.

The emperor had been informed by *Pescairo*, that this league was designed, and that *Sforza* was concerned in it: the emperor had therefore declared *Sforza* guilty of high-treason, as a rebel against his sovereign, and had deprived him of the dutchy of *Milan*, at the same time giving the government of it to *Pescairo*, with orders to subject it by force of arms. So that, at the publication of the league, the marquis of *Pescairo* had already taken *Milan*, and was besieging the castle, into which

which *Sforza* had retired: but a sudden death stopped the progress of his arms; he fell sick and died at the siege of this place in the thirty-fifth year of his age.

The emperor replaced him by the duke of *Bourbon*, to whom the castle of *Milan* surrendered upon articles. *Francisco Sforza* retired into the camp of the confederates, whose respective forces were already assembled in the *Milanese*: those of *France*, which were joined by the *Switzers*, were commanded by *Michael-Antony* marquis of *Saluces*, the pope's by *John de Medicis*, and the *Venetians* by the duke of *Urbino*.

The king, upon his arrival at *Paris*, found the chancellor of *France* at variance with the parliament. *Antony du Prat* having been raised from the dignity of first president of the parliament of *Paris* to that of chancellor of *France*, instead of preserving some deference for this body, of which he had been chief, he endeavoured by all the means he could devise to diminish its authority, which had so incensed them, that they took all opportunities of shewing him their resentment.

The abby of *Saint Bennet* upon the *Loire* being vacant, the queen regent nominated the chancellor, who took possession of it. The religious of this abby, who pretended to a right of election, complained to the parliament, who maintained them in possession of their right to elect their abbot, and declared the nomination of the queen regent void. Many violent measures were pursued on both sides; and the parliament at last proceeded so far as to order the chancellor to appear before them in person, which this minister considered as injurious to his dignity.

He therefore complained of it to the king, who condemned the procedure of the parliament, and published an edict, whereby he declared that the parliament had no jurisdiction over the chancellor: and by the same edict, he ordered whatever was in the parliament registers against the chancellor to be cancelled. Two months after he published another edict, wherein he declared the great council to have a right of trying all causes touching the possession of bishopricks, abbies, and priories.

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There were at this time two great posts vacant : that of grand master of the king's household, by the death of the bastard of *Savoy* ; and that of admiral, by the death of *Bonivet*. The king conferred the first on the marshal *de Montmorency*, and the second on the seignor *de Biron*.

He recompensed *Pomperant* for the service he had done him at the battle of *Pavia* by giving him a company of fifty men at arms, which was at that time very honourable.

After this the king quitted the conduct of affairs, leaving them entirely to the care of the grand master and the admiral, who were his favourites, and no longer thought of any thing but his pleasures which cost him so dear, that in a short time there was no money left in his coffers to defray the necessary expences ; for which reason the troops could not be raised, nor the sums furnished, which had been promised, for the league. And, besides this, the troops in *Italy*, not being paid, almost all disbanded ; and the small remains of them were so weak, that they were of no service.

While the duke of *Bourbon* carried on the war very successfully in the *Milanese* ; *Lanoy* entered the ecclesiastical state, and there took several places. The pope, intimidated by his success, and incensed at the negligence which the king of *France* shewed of the affairs of *Italy*, entered into a treaty with *Lanoy*, who made him pay dearly for his peace with the emperor.

In the mean time the duke of *Bourbon* had his particular designs. He was incensed at the emperor's having slighted him, and refused to execute any of the articles of their treaty. He saw himself at the head of a great and victorious army, and composed of troops which were entirely at his devotion : he therefore took a resolution to make himself master of the kingdom of *Naples* : the enterprize was easy to execute, the kingdom being destitute of troops, and the people disaffected to the *Spaniards*, because of the ill
usage

usage they received from them: but the duke of *Bourbon* was in want of money, and could not hope to keep his troops together long without pay.

To supply this deficiency, he resolved to give his soldiers the plunder of *Rome*, hoping thereby to gain sufficient to defray the expences of the expedition he meditated against *Naples*. He declared to them his design; and they were so highly delighted with it, that they promised afterwards to follow him wherever he had a mind. He therefore marched towards *Rome*, notwithstanding the remonstrances of *Lanoy*, who in vain represented to him, that, the pope and emperor being at peace, he had no pretence to commit any act of hostility in the ecclesiastical state. *Lanoy* was even in danger of being massacred by the soldiers for opposing an enterprize so greatly for their advantage.

The army arrived before *Rome* May 5, 1527, and made the assault immediately: the duke of *Bourbon*, who first mounted the wall, was beat down by a musket-shot which he received in the thigh, and died presently after. It was believed by many, that he did not receive this shot from the enemy, but from one of his own soldiers, gained for this purpose by *Lanoy*, who considered his death as the most certain means to preserve the kingdom of *Naples* to the emperor.

Philibert of *Chalons*, prince of *Orange*, who commanded under the duke of *Bourbon*, caused his body to be immediately covered, to conceal the knowledge of his death from the soldiers. The city was taken by assault and plundered; and the soldiers were now guilty of greater cruelties and excesses in *Rome*, than had been committed there by the *Goths* a thousand years before.

The pope fled into the castle of *Saint Angelo*, with the cardinals, the ambassadors, and ministers of the king of *France*, and some *French* soldiers. The prince of *Orange*, whom the troops had elected for their general, besieged the castle, and pressed it so vigorously,
that

that the pope, fearing it would be carried by assault, capitulated on the 6th of *June*, and surrendered the castle, after having agreed to a new treaty of peace upon the following conditions :

That he should pay the emperor 400000 crowns in gold ; should put him in possession of the cities of *Of-tia*, *Civita-Vecchia*, *Parma*, *Placentia* and *Modena*, to keep them, together with the castle of *Saint Angelo*, as long as he should think proper ; and that, till the execution of these conditions, the pope, with his cardinals, should remain in prison. The *French* soldiers who were in the castle made a separate capitulation, by which they were permitted to retire with their arms and baggage wherever they had a mind.

The cities of *Parma* and *Modena* refused to surrender to the emperor, which caused the pope to be kept prisoner a long time ; during which the emperor, who was resolved not to release him till the conditions of the treaty were executed, protested to the ambassadors at his court, that the prince of *Orange* had acted, and continued to act, contrary to his orders ; and, to deceive the people, and screen himself from the hatred which the pope's imprisonment would draw upon him, he at *Madrid* caused processions to be made, and publick prayers to be put up, for his deliverance, though at the same time he could himself have procured it by only sending orders to set him at liberty.

The same year, which was so successful to the emperor, was equally so to his brother *Frederick*, archduke of *Austria*, who received two crowns almost at the same time : that of *Bohemia*, to the possession of which he met with no obstacles, being elected by the states of that kingdom ; and that of *Hungary*, which he received by causing himself to be crowned at *Buda*, after having defeated *John Vairvode* of *Transilvania*, who had attempted to get possession of it. He was before archduke of *Austria*, and possessed all the hereditary estates of his house in *Germany* by the will of his grandfather the emperor *Maximilian*, who had made him his heir, because *Charles*, the eldest, was suf-

ficiently powerful, by the possession of *Burgundy, Castile, and Arragon.*

The pope's misfortune determined the king of *England* to enter into a new league with the king of *France* and the princes of *Italy* to set him at liberty, and re-establish *Francisco Sforza* in the duchy of *Milan*. The respective proportions of men and money to be furnished by each party were determined; and, at the request of the *English* and the *Milanese*, the command of the confederate forces was given to *Lautrec*, upon condition that he should act independently of the king of *France*, according to the best of his judgment, advising always with his council.

Lautrec long refused the employ; and it was not till after the king's repeated commands that he accepted it, saying openly, that he foresaw the king's negligence would prevent success, and that the great expence which he continued to be at in his buildings and diversions would consume the money destined to defray the expences of the war. The event justified his conjectures: and this alone prevented the conquest of the kingdom of *Naples*, as we shall hereafter see.

War being declared against the emperor by the heralds of *Guienne* and *Clarence* (the former from the king of *France*, and the latter from the king of *England*) for his refusing to release the children of *Francis* for the sum of two millions in gold, the emperor caused the ambassadors of *France* and *England* to be confined; but he soon after released them, and ordered them to quit his dominions, having first publicly reproached the ambassador of *France* for his master's having broke the promise he had made him to execute the articles of the treaty of *Madrid*.

The king, being piqued by this reproach, sent for *Nicholas Perronet de Granvelle*, ambassador from the emperor, who having been recalled by his master, was on the point of his departure, and told him (in presence of most of the great lords of the kingdom whom he had sent for to be witnesses of what he did.) that he would charge him with a letter for the emperor; and he at the same time presented it to him.

Gran-

Granvelle, suspecting the contents of the letter, refused to receive it, excusing himself, in that, his ambassy being finished, he could not take upon himself the execution of any farther commission. The contents of the letter were no other than a challenge to single combat, from *Francis* to the emperor, for having accused him of a breach of promise. *Granvelle* refusing to receive it, the king caused it to be read in his presence, that he might not be ignorant of it. *Martin du Bellay* relates it in the following terms :

“ We, *Francis*, by the grace of god, king of *France*,
 “ lord of *Genoa*, &c. To You, *Charles*, by the same
 “ grace, elected emperor of *Rome* and king of the
 “ *Spaniards*. Know ye, that we, being informed that
 “ in your answer to our ambassadors, sent to you for
 “ the sake of peace, you have accused us, by saying
 “ that we were engaged to you upon our faith and by
 “ promise, and that, in order to get out of your
 “ hands, we have falsified both: We therefore, to de-
 “ fend our honour, which is hereby too much and
 “ very unjustly impeached, have resolved to send you
 “ this challenge, by which (though no man is obliged
 “ to keep a promise extorted from him when deprived
 “ of his liberty, yet lest this should not be thought a
 “ sufficient excuse) we declare to you, that, if you
 “ accuse us of any breach of faith in the recovery of
 “ our freedom, or if you say we have ever done any
 “ thing, which a gentleman, who regards his honour,
 “ might not do, we say you lye in your throat, and you
 “ lye as often as you say it. And, as you have unjust-
 “ ly aspersed us, write no more to us from this time;
 “ only signify to us the place, and we will be ready
 “ to meet you; protesting, that, if, after this decla-
 “ ration, you speak or write a word against our ho-
 “ nour, the shame of delaying the combat shall be up-
 “ on you, seeing an acceptation of the combat puts
 “ an end to all writing.

“ Done and signed in our good city of Paris, &c.”

Granvelle having refused to carry it, the challenge was sent by an herald of *France*, accompanied by another herald from *England*, who carried another challenge of the same kind from the king of *England*. The emperor answered these heralds in ambiguous terms, neither refusing nor accepting the combat.

In the mean time *Lautrec* carried on the war successfully in the *Milanese*: he in a short time took *Alexandria*, *Pavia*, and many other considerable places, and might have taken *Milan* itself, had he besieged it; so much were affairs disposed to favour him: but the pope pressed him so strongly to come to *Rome* and attempt his deliverance, that he entered the ecclesiastical state, where the prince of *Orange* dared not give him battle. Being informed in his march towards *Rome*, that the pope had escaped from his guards, and was out of the hands of his enemies, he judged it more proper to throw himself into the kingdom of *Naples*, than to continue the war in the ecclesiastical state.

During this *Andrew Doria*, who commanded the gallies of *France*, besieged and took *Genoa*, and subjected it to *France*, in the year 1528.

It was about this time also that the canton of *Bern*, being desirous to determine its choice in religion, caused two doctors, a catholick and a protestant, to dispute before them, each in defence of his religion; and, having heard the arguments of both, they determined in favour of the new doctrine, proscribed the antient religion, and commanded that of protestants to be embraced. The example of *Bern* was followed by several of the other cantons.

Immediately upon *Lautrec's* entering the kingdom of *Naples* all the towns surrendered to him without waiting till he besieged them: *Naples* was the only place where he met with any resistance: he arrived before this great city the 1st of *May*, and immediately began the siege. Count *Philippin Doria*, nephew of *Andrew Doria*, blocked up the port with eight gallies, to prevent any succours or provisions from entering the city that way. *Hugh de Moncade*, viceroy of *Naples*, in place of *Lancy*, who was lately dead, went on board his gallies,

gallies, and attacked *Philippin*; but after a bloody engagement which lasted six hours, he was defeated and killed.

Alphonso of *Avalos* marquis of *Guaft*, lieutenant-general, the constable *Colonna*, and all the other officers who escaped death in the engagement, were taken prisoners, together with such of the gallies as had not been sunk.

Lautrec ordered *Philippin Doria* to carry the prisoners into *France*; but *Andrew* his uncle kept them at *Genoa*, by virtue of a treaty he had concluded with the king, wherein it had been agreed, that he should have all the prisoners he should take himself, and should enjoy the profits of their ransoms. Yet the king was displeased by his refusal; and *Doria's* disgust hereupon, joined to other causes of discontent which had before been given him, and the certain information which he received that *Francis* intended to send him a successor, who would have orders to seize upon his person and his gallies, at last determined this great commander to quit the interests of *France*, and accept the advantageous offers made him from the emperor by the marquis of *Guaft*.

The city of *Naples* was reduced to extremity: their provisions were quite spent, and the prince of *Orange*, who commanded in the place, sent to acquaint the emperor by a letter, which *Lautrec* intercepted, that he must in eight days be obliged to surrender. But *Doria's* change changed the face of affairs; for his gallies brought plenty of provisions into the place.

At the same time also the plague broke out in *Lautrec's* camp, and presently swept away two thirds of his army. He pressed the king to send him succours, and, above all, money to pay what remained of his troops, and enable him to raise fresh recruits in *Italy*. *Lautrec* had scarce received any part of what the king, by his treaty with the confederates, was obliged to furnish: yet he knew the king was at great expences in his buildings and diversions; and this provoked him to such a degree, that he took the liberty to expostulate very freely with the king thereupon, and remonstrated

to him, that he would himself by his negligence be the cause of the loss of the kingdom of *Naples*, as he had before been of the dutchy of *Milan*.

The king, wearied by his repeated complaints and remonstrances, at last sent him some troops and a small sum of money; but it was nothing in comparison to what was necessary, nor to what he might have sent. Scarce was the prince of *Navarre*, who commanded these succours, arrived with them in the camp, when he and all he brought with him were seized with and died of the plague. The fury and mortality of the distemper increased daily; and it had carried off three fourths of the army, when at last *Lautrec* himself was attacked by it, and died of it in six weeks after.

Thus perished the king's army, together with its general, says *Martin du Bellay*, from the king's not having supplied them with men and money so well as he might have done. He calls it the king's army, because it was in effect almost wholly composed of *French* troops.

The marquis of *Saluces*, having been elected general, in place of *Lautrec*, raised the siege, with the advice of his council. The besieged made a sally upon the rear, and defeated it. Count *Peter* of *Navarre* was taken by them, and was strangled by the *Spaniards* in his prison. The marquis of *Saluces* retired with the remains of his forces to *Averso*, to which place he was followed and besieged by the prince of *Orange*. A few days after, having received a wound in his knee by a cannon-shot, he surrendered the place upon shameful conditions; which were, that he and his principal officers should remain prisoners, and that the rest should quit the place without their arms, and should immediately retire out of the emperor's dominions; but the greatest part of them perished before they could get out of the kingdom of *Naples*. The marquis was carried to the city of *Naples*, and there died of his wound.

The length of the siege of *Naples* gave the *Spaniards* an opportunity to recover the dutchy of *Milan*, and enabled *Andrew Doria* to make himself master of *Genoa*, from whence he forced the *French* to retire, and restored its
antient

antient form of republican government. The senate would not elect a duke, because *Doria* refused to accept that dignity himself: but, though he did not bear the title, he enjoyed the authority as long as he lived, and exercised it upon all occasions with the greatest moderation. The *Genoese* erected a statue to his honour, and conferred upon him the title of *Father of his country, and the restorer of liberty*.

While these affairs passed in *Italy*, *Louisa* of *Savoy*, dutchess of *Angouleme*, the king's mother, and *Margaret* of *Austria*, the emperor's aunt, and governess of the *Low Countries*, repaired to *Cambray* to treat about a peace. This city was chosen because at that time it was independent of both these crowns. After many various contests and disputes, a peace was at last concluded upon the following conditions: The king of *France* should pay the emperor two millions in gold for his ransom, in consideration of which his two children should be released: he should relinquish the sovereignty of the earldoms of *Flanders* and *Artois*, and should renounce his pretensions to the dutchy of *Milan* and the kingdom of *Naples*: he should espouse *Eleanor* the emperor's sister, widow of the king of *Portugal*; and, in case a male child should be born of this marriage, it should have the dutchy of *Burgundy*: the decrees pronounced against the duke of *Bourbon* should be void, his honours restored, and his possessions secured to him and his heirs; and *Philibert de Chalons* should be restored to the possession of the principality of *Orange*, with the title of sovereign. This treaty was concluded and signed at *Cambray* in the month of *August* 1529.

Some events of considerable consequence happened this year in *Germany*. The emperor having assembled the diet of the empire at *Spire*, it was therein ordered, that the catholick religion should be re-established in all those parts where it had been abolished, and that those who should still adhere to the new errors should be punished as criminals. Several princes of the empire protested against this ordinance; and from hence those who embraced the doctrine of *Luther* called themselves *Protestants*.

Soliman II, emperor of the *Turks*, declaring himself protector of *John Vaisvode* of *Transilvania*, entered *Hungary* with a formidable army, took *Buda* capital of that kingdom, and several other places; and, after having ravaged the whole country, he entered *Austria*, and laid siege to *Vienna*: the siege lasted a month; at the end of which *Soliman*, by the valour and good conduct of that great city's numerous garrison, was forced to retire, after having lost 80000 men before its walls.

The treaty of *Cambray* having been ratified by the king and the emperor, queen *Eleanor* quitted *Spain* with the children of *France*, to accomplish her marriage with the king, who sent the marshal *de Montmorency* and the archbishop of *Bourges* to meet and receive them at *Bayonne*.

The king about this time first began to employ *Francis de Tournon* archbishop of *Bourges*; and, the marshal *de Montmorency* afterwards losing his favour, he reposed an entire confidence in this prelate, committed the management of affairs wholly to him, raised him to the dignity of a cardinal, and at last gave him the archbishoprick of *Lyons*. The king went and received queen *Eleanor* at *Bordeaux*, where he caused her to be crowned: after which she made her publick entry into *Paris* with great magnificence in the year 1530.

The emperor being desirous to receive the imperial diadem from the pope's hands, his holiness offered to crown him upon condition that he should afterwards employ his forces to reduce the state of *Florence* under the dominion of the house of *Medicis*, against which house the *Florentines* had revolted, and, during the pope's captivity, had regained their liberty.

The emperor was crowned with all the solemnities usual on such an occasion: after which he sent *Philibert* of *Chalons*, prince of *Orange* and general of his army, into *Tuscany*, to subject the state of *Florence*.

The prince of *Orange* had under him two celebrated lieutenant-generals, which were, *Ferdinand de Gonzago*, general of the cavalry, and the marquis *du Guast*, general of the infantry. After taking the more inconsiderable places, the city of *Florence* was invested; but by

by the vigorous defence of the besieged, and the good conduct of *Malatesta Baillon* and *Stephen Colonna*, who were the commanders in the city, it held out during eleven months siege.

The prince of *Orange* having left his camp to march against some troops who were coming to relieve the place, he defeated them, but was himself mortally wounded; and, dying without children, the principality of *Orange* descended by right of succession, together with the other possessions of the house of *Chalons*, to *René of Nassau*, son of *Claudia of Chalons*, sister of the deceased prince of *Orange*. The city of *Florence* was at last taken, and put in possession of the house of *Medicis*, who, in revenge of its revolt, exercised great cruelties upon the inhabitants. The emperor, being desirous that the *Italians* might have no pretence to favour the return of the *French* into *Italy*, gave the dutchy of *Milan* to *Francisco Sforza*, the brother of *Maximilian*, who was lately dead at *Paris*.

When he was upon his return into *Germany* he assembled the diet of the empire at *Augsbourg*; where the protestants presented a confession of faith, containing all the articles of the christian doctrine, according to their profession of it; and they demanded liberty to profess and teach it unmolested. It was signed by all the protestant princes, and was long considered by the *Lutherans* as their creed, or rule of faith: though they afterwards took the liberty to make some alterations in it. This confession, which was called the confession of *Augsbourg*, was rejected and condemned by the assembly, who ordered, that, if the *Lutherans* would not voluntarily return to the antient form of worship, they should be compelled to it by force of arms. Accordingly the emperor made preparations to put this decree in execution; but the progress made by the *Turks* obliged him to employ his forces elsewhere. By the treaty of *Passau*, concluded towards the end of the year 1551, he granted peace to the protestants, and commanded that none should be molested on the subject of religion till after a future council.

He at the same time found means to get his brother *Ferdinand* of *Austria* declared king of the *Romans*; whereby the succession to the empire was secured to *Ferdinand*: but the emperor repented this afterwards, and used his utmost efforts to make him relinquish his title to his son *Philip* prince of *Spain*; but *Ferdinand* constantly refused to comply with his solicitations.

The same year the king went into *Britany*, and assembled the states of that dutchy, who, to give him a proof of their affection and zeal for his service, by a solemn decree declared *Britany* united to the crown, upon condition that the eldest sons of *France* should bear the title of duke of *Britany*, together with that of dauphin of *Viennois*: but this was never executed.

This year also died *Louisa* of *Savoy*, the king's mother. Cardinal *du Prat*, archbishop of *Sans* and chancellor of *France*, who owed his whole fortune to this princess, immediately upon her death resigned his post of chancellor, and delivered the seals to his majesty, by whom they were given to *Anthony de Bourg*, who four years after, being in the king's retinue, fell from his mule, and was trampled to death. He was succeeded by *William Poiet*, third president of the parliament of *Paris*.

At the the beginning of the year 1552 the kings of *France* and *England* had an interview at *Boulogne* in *Picardy*; wherein they contracted a strict friendship, and concluded a treaty of defensive alliance on terms very advantageous to *France*.

Henry VIII, king of *England*, was at that time using his utmost efforts to succeed in a design, the execution of which was extremely difficult, and its consequences of great moment: and, herein he foresaw that the friendship of the king of *France* might be of great service to him.

He was passionately in love with *Ann Boleyn*, maid of honour to his queen *Catharine* of *Arragon*, the emperor's aunt. His passion was so violent, that to obtain, the liberty to espouse this lady, he resolved to use his utmost endeavours to get his marriage with *Catharine* declared

declared void ; though he had been married to her upwards of twenty years, and had a daughter by her.

Catharine had before been married to *Arthur*, king *Henry's* elder brother ; and, *Arthur* dying, he had espoused her with the pope's dispensation. His allegation, therefore now, to prove the nullity of his marriage, was, that the pope had no power to grant such a dispensation ; which being void, his marriage was void also. And he caused the most pressing solicitations to be made to *Clement VII*, that, in consideration of this, he would declare his marriage with *Catharine* null and void.

Besides the violence of his love for *Ann Boleyn*, *Henry's* desire to have a son was also a motive which excited him to obtain the liberty to contract another marriage ; for he could no longer hope to have children by *Catharine*, who was grown old. But the emperor strongly opposed *Henry's* design, and the pope being unwilling to disoblige him, protracted the affair, and avoided doing any thing decisive in it.

Henry perceiving the court of *Rome* trifled with him, by requiring him to come to *Rome* in person, to be there heard and questioned touching what he proposed, and by other pretences and, objections which were occasionally made, at last resolved to have the affair determined by an assembly of the *English* bishops, wherein *Thomas Cranmer*, archbishop of *Canterbury*, presided, pretending to be hereditary legate of the holy see ; and, with the usual and requisite formalities for the occasion, pronounced the marriage of *Henry* null and void.

Immediately after this sentence *Henry* was privately married to *Ann Boleyn* ; but he thought it adviseable to keep it a secret through fear of incensing the pope ; hoping, that, by means of an interview which the king of *France* was shortly to have with his holiness at *Marseilles*, he might be prevailed on to give a sanction to what he had done. But notwithstanding *Henry's* desire to keep his marriage secret, an account of it soon reached *Rome*, and the pope immediately menaced him with excommunication, unless in a certain time he made reparation for the crime he had committed. *Henry*

was

was so highly offended at this, that he resolved to separate both himself and his kingdom from the communion of the holy see.

While *Henry* was taking his measures in *England* in consequence of this resolution, the pope came to *Marseilles*, and concluded the marriage of his niece *Catharine* of *Medicis*, dutchess of *Urbino*, with *Henry* duke of *Orleans*, the king's second son; and the ceremony was performed at *Marseilles* before the pope's departure. The king, in his interviews with the pope, by his intreaties prevailed on him to suspend the sentence of excommunication against the king of *England*, till *John du Bellay* bishop of *Paris*, whom he had sent into *England*, was returned from thence.

This prelate, by his wisdom, the prudence of his conduct, and the force of his arguments, prevailed so far upon *Henry*, that he obtained his promise not to separate himself from the church of *Rome*, provided only that the pope would give audience to the ambassadors which he should send to him, and would defer pronouncing the excommunication against him, till he had heard what they might have to alledge in their master's defence.

The bishop of *Paris*, after this agreement with *Henry*, immediately repaired to *Rome*, and in a full consistory informed the pope of his negotiation: whereupon it was resolved, that, if *Henry* would send ambassadors within a certain limited time, having power to make satisfaction to the holy see, the excommunication should be deferred, and his ambassadors heard.

The time being expired, and no one appearing from the king of *England*, the bishop of *Paris* demanded a farther time of six days; which the wisest among the cardinals were for granting; but, the greater number being of a contrary opinion, The sentence of excommunication against the king of *England* was pronounced; two days after which, a courier from *England* arrived at *Rome*, who brought the bishop of *Paris* all the necessary powers to satisfy the holy see in the name of the king of *England*, and to set forth the reasons of his behaviour. The pope now repented his having acted

acted with such precipitation, and sought to make atonement; but it was too late; for *Henry*, being immediately informed of what was done, was thereby so highly offended, that he separated himself and kingdom from the church of *Rome*, and declared himself head of the church of *England*, in the year 1534.

This was attended with some fatal consequences in *England*; for, many persons of probity and of considerable rank having opposed it, they were persecuted, and it cost several of them their lives; among others, *Thomas More* chancellor of *England*, a man of great virtues, and most profound learning; who, after fourteen months imprisonment, was beheaded, because he constantly refused to give his approbation to the divorce. Such was the origin of the schism, which, having separated *England* from the church of *Rome*, occasioned the absolute subversion of the catholick religion in that kingdom.

Henry made scarce any alterations in religion himself, he even persecuted the hereticks: nevertheless great numbers came over from all parts into *England*, where they found the minds of the people in general so strongly prejudiced against the pope and the clergy, that they met with but very little opposition to the propagation of their doctrines. After the death of *Henry*, the guardians of *Edward* his son, and of *Jane Seymour* his wife (*Ann Boleyn* having been beheaded upon conviction of adultery) abolished the catholick religion, and established a new one in its stead, composed of the doctrines of *Luther* and *Calvin*. But we are not yet come to the time when it will be proper to speak of these affairs.

Francis was making preparations to do himself justice for the injury he had received from the duke of *Milan*, in the person of his ambassador, *Merveilles*, a gentleman of *Milan*: with this design he had, out of each province of his kingdom, levied a legion of 6000 men, upon the model of the roman legions, and was just upon the point of beginning the execution of what he proposed, when duke *Sforza* died without children, leaving

leaving the dutchy of *Milan* to the emperor, who took possession of it in quality of sovereign lord.

The king now resolved to turn his arms against the duke of *Savoy*, who had shewn himself unwilling to grant him a passage through his territories into the *Milanese*, and had refused to give up to him certain towns and territories, which of right belonged to his mother the dutchess of *Angouleme*.

The emperor was very apprehensive lest from *Piedmont* the king should enter the *Milanese*, because, in this case, he was unable to resist him, having lost all his forces in his expedition into *Africa*, where he had taken *Tunis* and the *Gouletta*, and had re-established *Muleassem* in the kingdom of *Tunis*, of which he had been deprived by *Barbarossa*: but upon his return a furious tempest had destroyed part of his fleet, and the remainder was defeated by *Barbarossa*.

The emperor therefore not finding himself in a condition to oppose the king's designs with open force, resolved to do it by secret artifice. With this design he sent *Granvelle*, a man of the greatest abilities in negotiation, into *France*. *Granvelle* proposed marriages to *Francis* between his children and those of the emperor, and assured him that his master, in order to conclude a solid and durable peace between *France* and *Spain*, and to engage the king in conjunction with him, to turn his arms against the *Turks*, would willingly give the dutchy of *Milan* to the duke of *Orleans*, second son of *France*, and would compel the duke of *Savoy* to make the king all the satisfaction he should require. The emperor did not design to execute these promises, but only to amuse the king by making him such advantageous offers, and thereby gain time to raise and prepare fresh forces.

Here the memoirs of *Martin du Bellay* end, and those of his brother *William* begin. These memoirs are in ten books, of which the first four are written by *Martin*, and the other six by *William*, though the ninth and tenth pass under the name of *Martin*: but at the conclusion of the fourth book *Martin* himself assures us they

they were written by his brother *William*, and that he only revised and corrected them.

It was about this time that *John Calvin*, an ecclesiastick of the diocese of *Noion*, having embraced the doctrine of *Oecolampadus*, began publickly to teach it. But, being apprehensive that he should be seized and punished, he retired to *Geneva*, where he founded a new sect upon the principles of this doctrine, different from that of *Luther*, in that it abolished the hierarchical order of prelates, priests, and other ministers, and all the ceremonies of the church, both which *Luther* had preserved. He explained himself in so obscure a manner in regard to the real presence of the body of our Saviour in the *Eucharist*, that his followers have entirely abandoned it, and have embraced the opinion of *Zuinglius*, who absolutely denied the corporal presence of the body of *Jesus Christ*, and admitted it only in a figurative sense; whereas *Luther* did acknowledge the corporal presence, though he denied its being by a transubstantiation of the bread and wine into the body and blood of our saviour, which is the doctrine of the catholick church.

Towards the end of this year (1534) pope *Clement VII* died, and was succeeded by *Alexander Farneſe*, who took the name of *Paul III*, and possessed the holy see for fifteen years. The society of *Jesuits* was established the year following by *Ignatius de Loyola*, a gentleman of *Spain*.

After eighteen months negotiation, the king at last perceived the emperor did not deal sincerely, and that the design of all his promises had only been to prevent his carrying his arms into *Italy*: he therefore sent the count *de Saint Paul* into *Savoy* with forces sufficient to render himself master of that dutchy; which this general effected, before the duke of *Savoy*, who confided in the emperor's negotiations, had even began to put himself upon the defensive, in the year 1536.

From *Savoy* the king caused his troops to enter *Piedmont*, under the command of the seignor *d' Annabaut*, who was afterwards marshal of *France*. He immediately

ately made himself master of the city of *Turin* and some other places of importance.

In the mean time the emperor continued to amuse the king's ambassadors with hopes that he would give the dutchy of *Milan* to one of the children of *France*: but he took care to raise various difficulties and objections, sometimes in regard to his choice of the person on whom he should bestow this gift, and sometimes as to the conditions on which he should bestow it: yet he acted with such address, that he appeared really to intend the execution of what he promised: and the ambassadors, being deceived by these appearances, gave the king hopes of an happy success of their negotiation.

At last the emperor declared he had taken a resolution to go to *Rome*, and there determine the affair with the pope. He accordingly executed this resolution; and, being arrived there, he, in a full consistory, and in presence of the ambassadors of *France* and *Venice*, made a long harangue (*du Bellay* says he made it bare-headed, having his bonnet in his hand); wherein, after having spoke of the king of *France* as a common disturber of the publick repose, and as a prince without faith, who had violated all his promises, and broke through all his treaties, he continued, that indeed, for the sake of peace, he had promised to give the dutchy of *Milan* to one of the king of *France's* children; but that he had always said this should be upon condition that the king gave reasonable security for the repose and tranquillity of the rest of *Italy*; and that the king, by demanding this dutchy for the duke of *Orleans*, plainly shewed his design was to make himself master of the greatest part of *Italy*, under colour of the pretensions of *Catharine of Medicis*, wife to the duke of *Orleans*, to the dutchy of *Urbino* and the state of *Florence*: for these reasons, therefore, he, the emperor, offered the king of *France* his choice of the three following proposals.

First, The duke of *Angouleme*, his third son, should have the dutchy of *Milan*, upon condition that the king should first withdraw his forces out of *Piedmont*,
should

should restore to the duke of *Savoy* all he had taken from him, and should enter into solid engagements for the future security and repose of *Italy*.

Secondly, That, to spare the blood of their subjects, they should decide their differences, person to person, with sword and poinard, and should deposite the dutchies of *Burgundy* and *Milan*, both to be ceded to the conqueror.

The *Third* was war : whereto, if he was compelled by the king's continual enterprizes, he, the emperor, would never lay down his arms, till one or other of them should be reduced to the condition of the poorest gentleman in *Europe* ; which misfortune would infallibly fall upon the king, as his forces were in so bad a condition, that were his, the emperor's, in so poor a plight, he would tie up his hands, with a rope about his neck, and go cast himself at the king's feet to beg for mercy and compassion.

The next day the ambassadors of *France*, in presence of the pope, the cardinals, and several princes, desired the emperor to explain himself in regard to what he had said the preceding day, touching a decision of their differences, person to person, with sword and poinard, and to declare whether hereby this meaning was to challenge the king to single combat ; because, in this case, they would be answerable that their master would accept it, and should desire his imperial majesty to name the time and place.

The emperor replied, " That he had proposed this
" only as his advice and opinion, and not with any
" intention of challenging the king, who, he very
" well knew, was a prince of great courage and stature, and had often shewn his power and magnanimity ; for which reason he should not be hasty to
" enter into single combat with him, especially as he
" did not know that he had any cause or occasion so
" to do."

Then the seignor *de Veley*, one of the king's ambassadors, desired to know what was required for the repose and security of *Italy*, in case the king accepted the dutchy of *Milan* for the duke of *Angouleme*.

The

The emperor replied, there were certain things expected; but that, having well considered them, he was persuaded it was impossible for such to be granted; and therefore it was to no purpose to talk any longer about them. After this he went into the *Milaneſe*, from whence he ſent forces into *Piedmont* to ſuccour the duke of *Savoy*, in the year 1537.

The emperor's forces were numerous, and compoſed of good and well-choſen troops. When he was reviewing them near the town of *Aſt*, he ſent for *Roche-du-Maine*, a *French* gentleman, who was in great reputation for his courage, and was then a hoſtage for the capitulation of a town which the Imperialiſts were beſieging. The emperor's deſign in ſending for him was, that he might be a witneſs of the goodneſs of his troops. He declared to him, that his intention was with this army to penetrate into *France*, and that he hoped he ſhould be able to make a complete conqueſt of that kingdom. He even aſked, how many days it was from thence to *Paris*? to which *Roche-du-Maine*, with a pleaſantry and humour that were natural and appeared very pleaſing in him, replied, *If by the word Days your majeſty means Days of Battle, there may be at leaſt twelve, unleſs you are heartily beaten in the firſt of them.* This reply the emperor took in good part. He thought himſelf ſo certain of being able to conquer *France*, that, in converſation with the principal lords of the court, and the officers of his army, ſpeaking of the king, he ſaid, *The only means to give peace to Europe is for the king of France to be the emperor and king of Spain; and this I have choſen to be.* After this he prepared to enter *France* by way of *Provence*.

The king having left at *Paris* the cardinal *du Bellay*, biſhop of that city, as his lieutenant-general, with orders and power to ſend ſuccours into *Picardy*, in caſe the enemy ſhould attempt any thing there, he went himſelf to *Valentia*, and here aſſembled his forces. From thence he ſent the marſhal *de Montmorency* into *Provence* with forces for its defence. *Montmorency* judged it could not be defended but by laying it entirely waſte. Having therefore got all the proviſions which were in the open country

country into the cities of *Marfeilles* and *Arles*, which he had strongly fortified, he commanded the inhabitants to abandon all the other towns. He then returned to *Valentia*, where the king required his presence, to deliberate whether it would be adviseable to give battle to the emperor. It was resolved to act only on the defensive; after which resolution, the king gave the general command of his army to *Montmorency*, who encamped near *Avignon* between the *Rhone* and the *Durance*, in a very strong situation, from whence he could on all sides annoy the enemy.

The emperor, having left forces before *Turin* to continue the siege of that city, entered *Provence* at the head of 50000 men, having under him three lieutenant-generals, *Ferdinand de Gonzago* marquis de *Mantua*, *Antony de Leva*, and the marshal du *Guaft*.

Affairs were in this situation, when *Francis* dauphin of *Viennois*, the king's eldest son, died at *Tournon*, where he had been seized with his indisposition. As his sickness was but of three days continuance, it was suspected he had been poisoned: *Sebastian de Montecuculo*, an Italian gentleman, was accused of this crime; and, being put to the rack, he confessed he had put poison into a glass of water which the dauphin had drank, and that he had been solicited to do this by *Ferdinand de Gonzago* and *Antony de Leva*, who had promised him a great reward from the emperor. This is the relation which all our historians give of this affair: but they also add, they have no intention to accuse the emperor of so detestable an action.

We are told by *Belleforest*, that he had read an Italian comedy, intituled *Charon*, wherein *Mercury*, speaking to *Charon*, says, People were in the wrong to attribute the poisoning of the dauphin to the emperor, which could be of no kind of service to him; but that the house of *Florence* might with more reason and probability be accused of it, as by his death that house might succeed to the crown. It was designed hereby to hint at *Catharine de Medicis*, wife to the duke of *Orleans*, who by the death of the dauphin became heir and successor to the king.

The emperor, having considered the state of *Pre-
vence*

vence, and being informed that the siege of *Turin* did not advance with success, began to perceive he should not be able to obtain what he had proposed so easily as he had imagined. He attempted to gain the pope in his favour, and make him enter into an offensive and defensive league against *France*, well knowing that all the princes of *Italy* would follow his example. With this design he offered to give the investiture of the duchy of *Milan* to one of his holiness's nephews : but the pope constantly replied to all his solicitations, That he was the common father of all Christians ; that he desired to establish peace between the Christian princes, rather than be at war with any of them ; and that he could not better begin to effect it than by remaining neuter.

The emperor, dividing his troops, besieged *Marseilles* himself, and ordered the marquis *du Guast* to besiege *Arles*. These two sieges were equally unsuccessful. The marquis was obliged to retire from before *Arles* at the end of a month ; and by the bravery of those who defended *Marseilles*, and the good conduct of the marshal *de Montmorency*, who constantly kept the field, and never failed to attack the parties which the enemy sent out to get provisions, the emperor was reduced to the same necessity : for his troops by this means were in want of provisions ; famine was soon followed by distempers ; and this complication of misfortunes compelled the emperor to raise the siege, and retake the road to *Italy*, greatly chagrined to behold himself, after having succeeded in all his enterprizes by his lieutenants, shamefully defeated in the very first which he made in person against the king. Upon his arrival at *Aix* he reviewed his forces, and found they were reduced to 25000 men ; of which he lost 2000 in his retreat, which were massacred by the peasants of the country. The sieges of *Turin* and *Peronne*, which had been at the same time formed by the emperor's lieutenants, were also raised.

As *Provence* was entirely ruined by being laid waste before the emperor's arrival, the king, from a principle of justice and beneficence, resolved to visit it himself,

himself, to see and consider what remedy might be applied to relieve the misery of the inhabitants. Having seen the condition of the principal places, and having caused an exact account to be given him of those where he had not been himself, he ordered great sums of money to be distributed among them, and appointed funds for the gradual reparation of those ruins which could not be repaired immediately.

The king, after his tour in *Provence*, being arrived at *Lyons*, assembled the lords of his court, the legate and the nuncio of the pope, the ambassadors of *England*, *Portugal*, *Scotland*, *Venice*, and the ministers of several German princes who were then with him; and in their presence he caused the process to be read against the count *de Montecuculo*, who had poisoned the dauphin, together with the interrogations and responses of this wretch, wherein he accused the principal ministers of the emperor with having caused him to commit this crime. He was condemned to be torn in pieces by four horses.

As soon as the king arrived at *Paris*, he assembled the court of parliament, the princes of the blood, the peers of *France*, and the prelates of the kingdom: and in presence of this assembly, in which the king presided, *Capel* his advocate notified the rebellion of the emperor *Charles*, earl of *Flanders*, *Artois*, and *Charolois*, against the king his sovereign lord, and demanded these earldoms to be therefore declared confiscated, and reunited to the crown of which they were held.

Hereupon the parliament directed an herald to be sent to the frontiers, to require the emperor, by sound of trumpet, to send persons to reply to the accusations and demands of the king's advocate. This being executed accordingly, and no one appearing, the emperor was declared guilty, and convicted of rebellion and felony, and the earldoms of *Flanders*, *Artois*, and *Charolois* confiscated, and reunited to the crown, by decree of parliament: after which a war broke out with great violence on the side of *Artois* and *Picardy*. The king besieged and took *Hesdin*, and several other places; and the emperor's lieutenants, on their side also,
among

among other places, took *Montreuel*. It was in this war that *Henry* dauphin of *France* made his first campaign, under the marshal *de Montmorency*, grand master of *France*.

The king was not so successful in *Piedmont* as in the *Low Countries*. The marquis *du Gues* had retaken several places; at the siege of one of which *Francis* marquis *de Saluces*, who had revolted from the king, was killed by a musket-shot.

The king resolved to go into *Piedmont*, that by his presence he might recover what he had lost there. He sent the dauphin before him, to whom he gave the command of his army under the conduct of the grand master *Anne de Montmorency*. The marquis *du Gues* was master of the narrow passage called the pass of *Suza*, through which the descent is made from the *Alps* into *Piedmont*: but he was obliged to abandon it by the *French* army, which afterwards entered *Piedmont* without any difficulty. The king repaired thither immediately, and regained all the places which the enemy had taken. And, having reconquered the marquisate of *Saluces*, he gave it to *Gabriel* bishop of *Aire*, brother to the late marquis, who soon after dying without children, the marquisate was reunited to the crown. This expedition was made in the year 1538.

In the midst of these successes the king granted the emperor a truce for some months; after the publication of which the marquis *du Gues* came to *Carmagnola* to pay his respects to the king. The cardinal *de Lorraine* and the grand master *de Montmorency* entered into a negotiation with the emperor's ministers for the conclusion of a peace; but nothing more was agreed on than that the truce should be prolonged for six months. The king to recompence the services of *Anne de Montmorency* grand master of *France*, honoured him with the post of constable, which had been vacant ever since the duke of *Bourbon* for his rebellion had been deprived of it.

Paul III, who used his utmost efforts with the king and the emperor to make them agree upon terms of peace, prevailed on them both so far as to get them to meet

meet him at *Nice*, where he hoped he should be able to conclude a peace between them. But the interview had not the success which the pope had promised himself: he found it impossible to make these two princes agree upon terms of peace, and could only prevail on them to conclude a truce for ten years.

Some days after, the king and the emperor had another interview at *Aigues-Mortes*. The emperor dined with the king, and the king afterwards went with the emperor on board his galley, where they had a long conference, the subject of which is not known. From hence the emperor went into *Spain*.

The inhabitants of *Ghent*, being incensed at some taxes which had been imposed on them, took the opportunity of the emperor's absence to shew their resentment of it, by killing some of his officers, plundering their houses, and obliging the rest to retire: after which they sent deputies to the king, to offer their obedience and submission to him, as their sovereign lord, and to engage the other towns of *Flanders* to submit to him also. The king, from a principle of generosity which was natural to him, refused their offers, as being contrary to the truce he had concluded with the emperor, whom he immediately informed of these proceedings.

The emperor was greatly chagrined by this information: his presence alone would have quelled the disorder; but the difficulty was how to get into *Flanders*: for, if he embarked upon the ocean, and trusted to the uncertainty of winds, a tempest might drive him upon the coast of *England*; and, if he embarked in the *Mediterranean*, he would be obliged to traverse a great part of *Germany* to get into the *Low Countries*; and he could not repose any great confidence in the protestant princes, because they were all his enemies: he therefore determined to confide in the good faith of the king, by demanding of him a passage through *France*. With this design he sent an ambassador to make an offer of the duchy of *Milan* for one of the children of *France*, provided the king would grant his request of a passage through his dominions.

The

The king, who too often judged of the dispositions of others by his own, again reposed confidence in the emperor's promises, and sent his children to *Bayonne* to receive and accompany him upon his route. The emperor from the first insisted upon not being pressed to sign the promise he had made to relinquish the dutchy of *Milan*, that, said he, it might not appear as though he had been compelled to it : but he protested, that, upon his arrival at the very first town subject to himself, he would give the king entire satisfaction in this respect.

At the beginning of *January*, in the year 1540, the king met the emperor at *Chatelleraut*, and went with him from thence to *Fontainbleau*, a royal palace which he had built. After some days spent here in diversions, the emperor came to *Paris*, where he publicly made his entrance with great magnificence ; and, finally, from thence he went to *Valenciennes*, a city subject to himself. There the king's ambassadors reminded him of the confirmation of his promise touching the dutchy of *Milan*. The emperor replied, he must reduce the rebel inhabitants of *Ghent* to their obedience, and have some conference with his council of the *Low Countries* ; after which the king should be fully satisfied. He gave this answer, because he was as yet uncertain what might be the success of his enterprize against the rebels, wherein he might have need of the king's assistance. But, having afterwards entirely subjected them, he then declared to the *French* ambassadors, that he promised nothing at all touching the dutchy of *Milan*.

The king was extremely shocked by this breach of faith : his rage fell upon the constable *de Montmorency*, who, having received orders to confer with the emperor touching the dutchy of *Milan*, and endeavour to make him sign the promise, had declared to the king, after his conference with him, that he certainly meant to keep his word, and even farther said, he would be answerable for the emperor's execution of his promise, without requiring any other security from him : upon these assurances the king suffered the emperor to pass through *France* unmolested : but the constable was punished

nished for his credulity, and the emperor's breach of faith; by being disgraced and removed from the government.

It is said the emperor, when he was at *Paris*, was apprehensive of a design to seize and detain him, till he had given good security for the investiture of the dutchy of *Milan*; but that, by a diamond of extraordinary value, he gained a certain lady to his interest, who, having great power over the king, prevailed on him to change his design: that afterwards the dauphin desired the constable to seize the emperor in *Picardy*, which this lord refused to do, as having no order from the king; and that this was the true cause of his disgrace: but all this is uncertain, and is founded only on the reports current at that time.

The year following (1541) the king sent two ambassadors, one to the republick of *Venice*, and the other to the Grand Seignior. They departed together, and, on their arrival at *Turin*, embarked upon the *Po*. The marquis *du Guast*, being desirous to know the subject of these embassies, and to gain a knowledge of the instructions of the ambassadors, by making himself master of their papers, caused them to be attacked by certain persons, by whom they were killed, and all their equipage carried off; but their instructions were not to be found in it: they had left them in the hands of *William du Bellay Langey*, governor of *Piedmont*, and lieutenant-general of the king's armies in that country, by whom they were to be sent by the post. *Langey* caused such strict inquiry to be made, that he not only discovered the marquis *du Guast* to be the author of this assassination, but had even convincing proofs of it, by the informations which he caused to be juridically taken upon the spot, and by the confession of some of the assassins who were taken. The king demanded satisfaction of the emperor; but, the marquis *du Guast* having absolutely denied the fact, the emperor answered the king's demand only by saying the marquis was innocent; and this was all the satisfaction he could get.

The emperor was at this time holding the diet at *Ratisbon*; where the necessity of his affairs compelled

him to grant the Protestants the *Interim*, that is to say, a set form of faith, which might be agreeable to both parties, till a general council should regulate the points wherein the Protestants had abandoned the sentiments of the church. What obliged *Charles* to comply with the Protestants upon this occasion, was the great progress made by *Soliman* emperor of the *Turks*, who at *Buda* had defeated *Roquendolf* his lieutenant-general, with the loss of 20000 *Germans*: though, indeed, he was under no great concern in regard to this division in religion, hoping to profit by it.

Soliman after this victory marched at the head of a powerful army to enter *Germany*: it was therefore necessary, instead of dividing them, to unite all the princes of the empire against the common enemy.

The emperor would neither march in person against the Grand Seignior, nor wait in *Germany* the event of a war which was to be conducted by his lieutenants: the one would be dishonourable to him, and the other appeared perilous: he therefore resolved to carry the war into the countries subject to the *Turk* in *Africa*. This enterprize being less dangerous than to oppose a great conqueror flushed with victory, he therefore entered the kingdom of *Algiers*, where *Haradin Barbarossa*, a famous corsair, reigned under the protection of *Soliman*, having seized upon this state in prejudice of the right of its lawful prince. But the expedition proved unfortunate; for the emperor was defeated by *Barbarossa*, and his brother *Ferdinand* was at the same time beaten in *Germany* by *Soliman*. The emperor, by his defeat, and by a tempest, lost one half of his army. When he was upon his return into *Germany*, he secretly attempted to gain some of the king's officers who commanded upon the frontiers, that he might profit by the truce, which was religiously observed by *France*. The king, who was before incensed by the injury he had received in the persons of his ambassadors, openly broke the truce, which the emperor so ill observed. He sent an army into *Roussillon* commanded by the dauphin, and another into *Luxembourg*, under the command of his second son the duke of *Orleans*, who was so successful

cessful as to take *Luxembourg*, *Montmedy*, and several other places. But the dauphin, though he was at the head of a powerful army, and though the king's presence, who was at *Montpellier*, might have inspired his troops with greater courage, was nevertheless obliged to raise the siege of *Perpignan*, after having lost a great number of men before it.

In the mean time the war was prosecuted with great vigour in *Piedmont*, under the conduct of *Martin du Bellay*, who assumed the title of king of *Ivetot*: *Martin* was governor of *Turin*, and commanded the king's army, in the place of his brother, the seignor *de Langey*, who was lately dead, after having gained great glory in the service of the king in this province: but the greatest efforts were made in the *Low Countries*, where the emperor, after having lost a great number of places in the years 1541, 1542, and 1543, at last laid siege to *Landrecis* in person, with an army of 53000 men; but the king, being come to its relief, obliged him to raise the siege, though a great breach was made, and the emperor had boasted that in this campaign, he would extend his conquests to the gates of *Paris*. He retired to *Cambrai*, an imperial city at that time, which was governed in form of a republick, of which the bishop was chief.

N— de Croüy was then bishop of this city; and, being gained by the emperor, he persuaded the inhabitants of *Cambrai*, that the king designed to make himself master of their city, and that, if they were desirous to preserve their liberty, it would be necessary for them to build a citadel, of which they should themselves have the command. The citadel being built at their expence, the emperor with their consent placed a garrison in it, assuring them, that, as it was only for their defence, the garrison should retire out of it whenever they had a mind: but it was not long before they became sensible they had made the emperor master of their city, and had lost their liberty.

The government of *Piedmont* being vacant by the death of the seignor *de Langey*, the king gave it to the duke *d'Anguien*, a young prince of the house of *Bourbon*, and

sent him thither to command his army. At the same time *Barbarossa* landed in *Provence*, with orders from the Grand Seignior to employ his forces wherever the king should please. *Barbarossa* having debarked his troops, the duke *d'Anguien* joined him, and besieged *Nice*, which surrendered upon articles : but the castle continued to make an obstinate defence ; and, it being impossible to force it to surrender, *Barbarossa*, after having plundered the city, and committed all those disorders and excesses in the open country of which barbarians are capable, retired.

It was about this time that the king caused the admiral *de Chabot*, seignor *de Brian*, to be brought to his trial. The behaviour of this lord, even towards the king, manifested such pride and haughtiness, as at last became insupportable to his majesty. Some insolent expression had escaped him, which had so incensed the king, that he caused him to be seized, and named commissioners, at the head of which he placed the chancellor *Poyet*, an inveterate enemy of the admiral's, to try him for the violences, extortions, and other misdemeanors, of which it was pretended he was guilty. The chancellor omitted nothing which might turn to his disadvantage ; but, in spite of all his efforts, the judges, not finding sufficient to condemn him to death, declared him deprived of his employments, and incapable of possessing any for the future. But now, the king's disposition towards the admiral suddenly changing, and compassion for a man he had greatly loved taking place of his anger, he by letters patent restored him to his honours and employments : but he did not long enjoy them, for he died a few months after. The king gave the post of constable to the seignor *d'Annebaut*, who had served him well in all his wars. The chancellor soon after received the reward of his crimes. His rapines and extortions obliged the king to have him tried by the parliament, which declared him guilty, and deprived him of his dignity of chancellor : condemned him to pay one hundred thousand livres, and to suffer five years imprisonment. The king let the place of chancellor continue vacant, and made

made *Francis de Monthelon*, president of the parliament, keeper of the seals.

Whilst the king's army was besieging *Nice*, the marquis *du Guast* took *Montdevis* in *Piedmont*. The garrison, which was composed entirely of *Switzers*, quitted the place by capitulation: nevertheless, the *Spaniards* plundered and killed some of them: but the *Switzers* were revenged for this perfidy at the battle of *Cerizoles*, wherein the duke *d'Anguien* defeated the marquis *du Guast*. Fifteen thousand of the enemy were slain, and three thousand taken prisoners. The greatest part of the slaughter was made by the *Switzers*, who, remembering, what had been done at *Montdevis*, put all those of the enemy who fell into their hands to the sword, giving no quarter to any, and animating each other by incessantly repeating *Montdevis!* This battle was fought the year after the taking of *Montdevis*, which was the year 1544, near a small town of *Piedmont* named *Cerizoles*.

As all the forces which the emperor had in *Italy* were defeated in this battle, if the duke *d'Anguien* had been at liberty to enter the *Milanese*, he might have subjected it without any resistance; but he received orders from the king to send him his best troops to oppose the emperor, who was just upon the point of entering *Champaign*; and the king of *England*, who was going to land in *Picardy*, having leagued with the emperor, though the king had given him no cause so to do.

The emperor, after the retreat of the troops which were recalled into *France*, being in pain for the dutchy of *Milan*, retook *Luxembourg*; and then entered *Champaign*, where he laid waste the open country, as far as the gates of *Chalons*.

In the mean time the king of *England* besieged *Boulogne*, after having been obliged to retire from before *Montreuil*. The marshal *de Biez*, governor of *Boulogne*, and the king's lieutenant-general in *Picardy*, when *Montreuil* was besieged, had thrown himself into it, and had made so vigorous a defence, that he had forced the king of *England* to raise the siege: but, this prince having immediately laid siege to *Boulogne*, the marshal

could not get into it : he had left in that place *James de Couffy*, seignor *de Verwins*, his son-in-law, a man of little experience, who immediately surrendered, contrary to the opinion of all the officers, without having made the resistance which he might and ought to have made. He was afterwards tried for this affair, and beheaded.

As soon as the king was informed of the loss of *Boulogne*, he sent to the admiral, who was with the emperor's deputies at *Crespy* in *Valois*, to treat about a peace, directing him to conclude the treaty immediately, before the emperor should be informed of the taking of *Boulogne*. A peace was accordingly concluded between the king and the emperor, by the treaty of *Crespy*, in the year 1545.

After this the king of *England*, being unwilling, and indeed unable, to sustain the war against *France* alone, concluded a peace also on his side, upon condition he should restore *Boulogne*, and that the king should pay him what was due to the crown of *England* of the pension which *Lewis XI* had obliged himself and his successors to pay to the kings of *England*. This treaty was concluded in the year 1546 ; but *Boulogne* was not given up till four years after, under the reign of *Henry II*.

The year following *Henry, VIII* king of *England*, died. His death touched the king very sensibly : he even grew melancholy, from an apprehension that his own life, as he was of the same age with *Henry*, was in danger : his fears proved indeed a presage of his death, which happened soon after ; being taken with a slow fever, which carried him off the 20th of *March* 1547, aged 58 years.

His second son the duke of *Orleans* had died some time before him, as also the duke d'*Anguien* : the former by sickness ; the latter by an accident, in which, perhaps, the malice of mankind was concerned. He was diverting himself with the dauphin, who had got two companies of young lords and gentlemen of his own age, one of which was to defend the entrance of an house, and the other was to attack it. The arms they

they made use of, both in the attack and defence, were snow-balls. But *Cornelius Bentivoglio*, one of the defenders, threw, or by accident let fall, through the window, a small casket, which pitched upon the head of the duke *d'Anguien*, who received a contusion by the blow, of which he died. *Bentivoglio* was a creature of the duke of *Guise*, who was an enemy to the duke *d'Anguien*, which made it suspected this stroke was done designedly.

Francis I. surpassed all his predecessors in splendor and magnificence. He either built or repaired almost all the royal palaces we have in *France*; among others, those of *Fontainebleau* and *Chambor*. The president *de Thou* assures us, that all the most rare and valuable pictures, tapestries, jewels, and other rich furniture, which are in the royal palaces, were collected by *Francis I.* He established professors of the *Greek*, *Latin*, and *Hebrew* languages at *Paris*, with considerable salaries. He encouraged men of learning and genius in all arts and sciences. In short, the revival of letters in *France*, which had been in a manner extinguished for several ages, was owing to him, and he was therefore called *The father of letters*.

The same year died at *Constantinople* the celebrated *Haradin Barbarossa*, king of *Algiers*, and general of the naval forces of the Grand Seignior. *De Thou* has given us a short account of his life at the end of the third book of the first volume of his history.

It was also about this time, that is to say, some months before the king's death, that the conspiracy of *John Lewis de Fiesque*, count *de Lavagnes*, against the republick of *Genoa*, broke out and subsided almost at the same instant. The count was a young nobleman of the first rank in that city, and endued with the most excellent qualities both of mind and body. But, being extremely ambitious, he was impatient of the power and grandeur of the house of *Doria*, to which he thought his own was superior in rank. The merit of *Andrew Doria* made the great authority which this old general had acquired supportable to the count; but he could not bear that *Jannetin Doria*, *Andrew's* nephew,

should succeed to the power of his uncle ; which indeed appeared probable, as he had begun already, in some degree, to take possession of it. As the count was extremely shocked at the pride of *Jannetin*, and as he was resolved to endeavour to find means to humble him and raise himself, cardinal *Trivulsa*, a partisan of *France* persuaded him to attempt to deprive the *Doria's* of the government, and seize on the sovereign authority himself, promising him, on the king's part, all sort of assistance to maintain himself in the rank to which he should be raised. The count, being encouraged by this promise, became blind to all danger in the attempt. He made himself friends, and by his liberality, and the marks of friendship and affection which he shewed, got as many in his interest as he could, and engaged them to serve him in his design. In the mean time, that the *Doria's* might not entertain the least suspicion, he shewed the greatest assiduity in paying them his respects. No conspiracy was ever more secretly conducted than this. At last, the night destined for the execution of it being come, the conspirators easily made themselves masters of the principal places in the city, forced the palace of the *Doria's*, and killed *Jannetin*: but *Andrew* saved himself on horseback, by a back gate which opened into the country.

The count *de Fiesque*, seeing all things had succeeded, went to the gate, as it is supposed, to appease some tumult which had arisen among the galley-slaves, and to give the officers the necessary orders; but as he was entering into a galley, the bridge or steps for that purpose, not being well secured, broke under him, he fell into the sea, and, the weight of his armour preventing him from swimming, he was drowned.

Had it not been for this unexpected death, *Genoa* had lost her liberty ; so well had the measures been taken and the execution succeeded : the count *de Fiesque* would have been declared duke of *Genoa*, and would have possessed the sovereign authority, under the protection of *France*.

H E N R Y

H E N R Y II.

THIS and some following reigns I have compiled principally from *Belleforest*, a cotemporary historian, and from *Augustus de Thou*, president in the parliament of *Paris*, and son of *Christopher* the first president. He lived under the reigns of *Henry II*, *Francis II*, *Charles IX*, and *Henry III*, and wrote in *Latin* an universal history of his own time. I have also made use of *d'Avila*, who wrote the civil wars of *France* in *Italian*.

After the death of *Francis I*, *Henry II*, his son and successor, recalled the constable *de Montmorency*, and gave him the first rank in the administration. Those principally concerned after him were, *Francis de Lorraine* count *d'Aumale*, son of the duke *de Guise*, his brother *Charles* archbishop of *Rheims*, who was soon after made a cardinal, and *James d'Albon* seignor *de Saint Andrew*. The cardinal *de Tournon* and the admiral *d'Annebaut* were disgraced; and the latter was divested of the dignity of marshal of *France*, which was given to *Saint Andrew*. There were then only four marshals, and none received this honour but by some of these four becoming vacant, either by death, dismissal, or otherwise. *Henry* upon this occasion acted contrary to the advice which the king his father had given him at his death; for he had warned him to be upon his guard against the ambition of those of the house of *Guise*, and always keep them out of the administration of affairs. *De Thou* assures us he had frequently heard this from queen *Catharine*, and other credible persons. *Francis* moreover recommended to him the admiral *d'Annebaut*, as a man of great courage and capacity, and one who had always shewn himself disposed to promote the good of the state preferably to his own private interest; and *Francis*, as a mark of the esteem and affection he had for him, had by his will bequeathed him a legacy of 100000 livres.

The cardinal *de Tournon* was removed from court upon the complaint of the inhabitants of *Merindol* and *Cabrieres*, two towns of *Provence*. These people had

ſucceſſively retained the errors of the *Vaudois* ; and, as they perceived, towards the end of the reign of *Francis I.*, that the doctrine of *Lutber* (which reſembled the tenets they taught) began to be eſtabliſhed in *France*, they made an open profeſſion of their religion, which till then they had done only in ſecret. The cardinal *de Tournon*, ſeconded by the count *de Grignan* governor of *Provence*, and the ſeignor *d'Oppede* firſt preſident of the parliament of *Aix*, cauſed them to be proſcribed by this parliament ; and neither fire nor ſword were ſpared to exterminate them. Whole families were burnt in the places where they fled for refuge : men, women, and children were killed indifferently ; nor was there any exceſs of cruelty that was not exerciſed upon them.

After the death of *Francis I.*, the remains of theſe miſerable people came to court to complain of the cruelty with which they had been uſed. The king ordered the parliament to examine into the affair : which being done, ſuch ſcenes of cruelty and injuſtice were unfolded, that the count *de Grignan* and the ſeignor *d'Oppede* with difficulty eſcaped with their lives, and were ſentenced to make reparation with a conſiderable part of their eſtates. The cardinal *de Tournon* was reprimanded, and thoſe who had been ſo cruelly perſecuted were declared innocent.

The doctors of the faculty of theology at *Paris*, thinking this a proper time to attempt ſomething againſt the biſhop of *Maion*, almoner to the late king, who had enjoyed a great ſhare of his favour, endeavoured to make him appear an heretick. He had formerly protected againſt them *Robert Stephens*, a man of learning, and a celebrated printer ; which was the cauſe of their animoſities againſt this prelate. They accuſed him of heresy, from his having ſaid, in the king's funeral oration, that, this prince having lived like a Chriſtian, he believed his ſoul had been received into heaven without paſſing through the flames of purgatory. The doctors every-where declared that this opinion was heretical. They found means to get their complaint carried to the king ; and, having at laſt obtained audience of his majeſty, they went in a body to
repreſent

represent to him that religion and the publick good required the condemnation and punishment of the author of this heresy, *John Mondosse*, steward of the household to the king, having been appointed to receive them, said with his usual humour, which was to rally upon all occasions ;

“ Gentlemen, you are in dispute with *M. de Maicon* concerning the place where the soul of my late good master is: for my part, I, who knew him perhaps as well as any man, can assure you that he was not of a humour to continue long in any one place, how agreeable soever it might be; for which reason, if he had been in purgatory, he would not stay there long, and would only taste of their wines *en passant*.”

This rally so disconcerted the doctors, that they went away without seeing the king, judging by this reception what success they should have in their enterprize.

The king's affections were at this time possessed by *Diana*, of the antient and illustrious house of *Poitiers*, widow of *Lewis de Brezé* grand constable of *Normandy*: she assumed the title of dutchess *de Valentinois*, because she pretended this dutchy, though reunited to the crown after the sale which *Lewis de Poitiers* had made of it to *Charles VI*, did nevertheless legally belong to her, either as having never been alienated, or because the conditions on which it had been sold had not been executed. Upon this account she was always called the dutchess *de Valentinois*.

Henry's love for this lady had commenced when he was only *Dauphin*; and, though she was now not young, and though the king his father had loved her before him, his love for her continued nevertheless as long as she lived, with a constancy that surprized the whole world: and, to shew his passion for her, he bore a crescent with these words: *Donec totum impleat orbem*.

This imperious and avaricious woman disposed of all things so absolutely, that none could hope to obtain honours, employments, or any favour whatsoever of the king, but by her means: for which reason the greatest of the nobility, even the constable, and the
princes

princes of the house of *Guise*, submitted absolutely to her in all things.

Henry II began his reign by an action which at that time was considered as an unhappy presage. He permitted a duel to be fought between two of the most considerable gentlemen of his court; which were *Jarnac* and *la Chategneraye*.

The king was himself a spectator of the combat; wherein *Chategneraye*, who was the aggressor, received a mortal wound. After the king's death, many, remembering this action, made no scruple to say publickly, that divine justice had required that he, who had began his reign by permitting a duel contrary to his conscience, should lose his life by a duel.

Six months after the death of the king his father, *Henry* was crowned at *Rheims*. Historians observe, that the cardinal *de Bourbon* bishop and duke *de Laon*, and the cardinal *de Lenoncourt* bishop and count *de Chablons*, did not assist in this ceremony, because they would have been preceded by the bishop of *Noyen*, first ecclesiastical count and peer; which order had been settled in the king's council. These two prelates considered the dignity of cardinal as not permitting them to give place to a bishop. *Charles* of *Bourbon* bishop of *Xaintes*, the cardinal's nephew, officiated for his uncle: and thus a prince of the blood did not refuse that rank which a cardinal thought he could not appear in without debasing his dignity.

In the mean time the emperor was engaged in *Germany* in a war against the protestant princes, who, having assembled at *Smalcalde*, a town in *Franconia*, had there entered into a league against him. The principal of these confederates were duke *John-Frederick* elector of *Saxony*, *Ernestus* duke of *Brunswick*, the count *Palatine* of the *Rhine*, and *Philip* landgrave of *Hesse*. The emperor defeated them in a pitched battle near *Mulberg* in *Bavaria*, and took the elector of *Saxony* and the duke of *Brunswick* prisoners. This victory subjected the protestant party, and brought all *Germany* under a kind of servitude. The emperor having caused the elector of *Saxony* to be brought to his trial, he was declared

clared a rebel, and condemned to be beheaded: but his life was granted him, upon condition that he should renounce the electoral dignity for himself and his posterity: he also forfeited part of his territories; of which the emperor reserved to himself some towns, and bestowed the others, together with the electoral dignity, upon duke *Maurice of Saxony*, who though a relation, was an enemy to the elector. The landgrave of *Hesse* was obliged to surrender at discretion to the emperor, and give up to him all the strong places in his state.

There were at the same time some troubles in *Italy* between the pope and the emperor. *Paul III.*, in his youth, before he embraced the ecclesiastical life, had had a bastard son named *Peter-Lewis Farnese*; but after this his life had been such as not to exclude him from the pontificate. The love he had for his son inclined him to make him duke of *Parma* and *Placentia*, by dismembering these two cities from the ecclesiastical state, under pretence of an exchange. The emperor had tolerated this alienation from the state of the church; but he had never formally given his consent to it, though *Octavius Farnese*, the son of *Lewis*, was his son-in-law, he having given him his natural daughter *Margaret* in marriage.

The new duke exercised the sovereign authority in a very tyrannical manner, and committed great violences to gratify his vicious and abandoned inclinations for the most infamous debaucheries; which occasioned a conspiracy of the most considerable in *Placentia* against him, by whom he was assassinated, and an imperial garrison received into their city. As it was not doubted but the emperor was privy to this conspiracy, the pope was so incensed at it, that he entered into a league against him with the king, who, not being satisfied with the treaty of *Cressy*, only waited for a favourable opportunity and a pretence to break the peace. Accordingly, in the year 1548, he passed the *Alps*, and went into *Piedmont*, upon assurances, as it was said, which some of the *Italian* princes, particularly the pope, had given him to excite troubles in the *Milanese*, during

during which he might seize on that dutchy: but, whether the success did not prove answerable to the project which had been formed, or whether affairs of greater consequence required the king's presence, he however returned into *France* without having done any thing more than visited the towns in *Piedmont*.

It was thought the troubles in *Guyenne* were partly the cause of his return. The people of this province could not bear that *Francis I* should deprive them of the liberty of selling the salt which was made among themselves. There was a general insurrection in all the towns of the province. They killed the officers of the salt store-houses, and plundered their dwellings; after which they formed themselves into a sort of regular troops, to defend themselves against the king. But, the constable being sent with some forces to quell them, he presently dispersed them, and re-established tranquillity and obedience throughout the province.

In the mean time there were great wars in *Scotland*, wherein *France* was deeply concerned. The *English* demanded *Mary Stuart* queen of *Scotland*, aged only six years, to be married to their king *Edward*, according to a promise which had been made to the late king *Henry VIII*.

France was also desirous to have this princess for the dauphin; and the *Scots* were divided, some being for marrying her among themselves, and others to the *English* king *Edward*; but the greater number, being supported by the queen regent who was of the house of *Guise*, and by the *French* troops which the king had sent into *Scotland* under the command of *Dessa*, destined her to the *Dauphin*: the *French* faction finally prevailed, and *Mary*, aged six years, was carried into *France*, in the year 1548.

After this the war between *England* and *Scotland* was carried on with redoubled force. The king sent the *Scots* fresh forces under the command of *Paul de Termes*, who succeeded *Dessa*, and afterwards merited being made a marshal of *France*. The *Scots* being strengthened by these forces, defeated the *English* in two pitched battles, and retook all the towns which they had lost.

lost. The war still continued for two years, and was ended by a treaty of peace concluded between the kings of *France, England, and Scotland*, in which *Boulogne* was given up to *France*: but this did not happen till the year 1550, and was preceded by other affairs which it is necessary to relate.

In the year 1549 the king appointed commissioners to try the marshal *de Biez* and his son-in-law *James de Couffy* seignor *de Vervins*. The first was degraded of the dignity of marshal of *France*, divested of the honour of knight of the king's order, and condemned to a perpetual imprisonment, for having behaved ill in the trust which *Francis* had reposed in him to defend the coast of *Picardy*. The king soon after suffered him to come out of prison; but he died of grief.

Vervins his son-in-law was beheaded for having surrendered *Boulogne* to the *English*. *Henry III* afterwards wiped off the stain from the memory of these two lords at the request of *Vervins*, son of the one and grandson of the other; and the sentence which had been passed upon them by commissioners, and not by the court of parliament, was reversed; and it was said of them, *That they were not condemned by justice, but by commissioners*.

The same year died *Margaret* the sister of *Francis I*, widow of the duke *d'Alencon*, and wife of *Henry d'Albert* king of *Navarre*. This princess was celebrated for her learning: she always favoured persons of merit who were persecuted upon a suspicion of their adhering to the new opinions of *Luther*. We have a little book written by her, intitled *The tales of queen Margaret*, which not being extremely chaste, posterity have conceived no very good opinion of her.

By her marriage with the king of *Navarre* she had only one daughter, who being married to *Anthony* duke *de Vendome*, he, on the death of *Margaret*, took the title of king of *Navarre*.

While these affairs passed in *France*, the cardinals were extremely busy at *Rome* in the election of a pope. *Paul III* was dead; and his memory was in great detestation throughout *Italy*, for having suffered the infamous

famous debaucheries of his son, and, instead of chastising or reprimanding him for his excesses, which he ought to have done, contenting himself with saying only that he had not taught him to lead so disorderly a life. He had moreover sacrificed every thing to the ambition of his grand-children, whereby he effaced the merit which he otherwise had; for he was a man of profound learning for that time, and was prudent, temperate, and irreproachable in his morals. The cardinals elected for his successor the cardinal *del Monte*, a man of mean birth and little merit, who took the name of *Juleus III*, in the year 1550.

It is an antient custom for a new pope to give his cardinal's cap to whomever he has a mind: *Juleus* therefore gave his, his name, and his arms, to a young man named *Innocent*, whose employ was that of governor to a monkey: and he was on this account in derision called *Cardinal Simia*.

The cardinals complaining to *Juleus* of his having given them a brother who was of no estimation, he replied, that they had not seen more merit in him to make him pope, than he had seen in this young man to make him a cardinal.

The ambitious and turbulent spirit of the dutchess *de Valentinois* caused great changes at court. As her power over the king was absolute, she undertook to fill the chief places in the administration with those who were entirely at her devotion. She caused the place of first president of the parliament to be taken from *Peter Lizet*, who had done his duty in it with honour and reputation: and he received the abbey of *Saint Victor* as an equivalent. His place was given to *John Bertrandy* president of the parliament, whose sole merit was that of being magnificent in his expences. *Bertrandy's* place was given to *Giles le Maitre*, the king's advocate. Soon after *Francis Olivier* chancellor of *France*, who had opposed these irregular proceedings of the dutchess *de Valentinois*, was made to retire from court, under pretence that a flux of rheum in his eyes disabled him from reading those letters which he was obliged

to seal. The seals were taken from him, and given to *Bertrand*.

The place of keeper of the seals, which was only a simple commission, was created a patent-place for him by the king's declaration; and, because this new post was incompatible with that of first president, *le Maître* was made first president of the parliament: and thus this woman, by means of the keeper of the seals and the first president, who were her creatures, was possessed of the administration of all affairs. She also at the same time gave the government of *Piedmont* to *Charles de Cossé de Brissac*, who was so highly in her favour, that the king was jealous of him; for which reason she judged it proper to send him from court, to quiet the king's suspicions: but she made the subject of his departure so honourable and advantageous, as to make him ample amends for the separation: and he acquired so much glory in this employ, that he in a short time merited the being made a marshal of *France*.

The progress made by the doctrines of *Luther* and *Calvin* so strongly evinced the necessity of a general council, that *Paul III* had at last convoked one at *Trent* in the year 1545. It was opened, and the eight first sessions had been held under the pope's legates, who presided in them. Some decrees had passed in these sessions, touching the holy scriptures and the sacraments, in opposition to the new doctrines; after which the council had been interrupted and transferred to *Bologna* in *Italy*; the fathers having ordered it so, under pretence of the plague, which was said to be broke out at *Trent*, in the year 1547.

The fathers had repaired to *Bologna*, and had there held two sessions, when the council was again interrupted. *Paul III* dying in 1539, *Juleus III*, his successor, had directed the continuation of the council of *Trent*, and declared that the first session should be held the first day of *May* in the year 1551. He had also invited all, who had a right, either by custom, privilege, or otherwise, to assist in this council, to repair to *Trent*.

The

The king was at that time greatly dissatisfied with the pope, because he had joined with the emperor to force *Octavius Farnese* out of the dutchy of *Parma*. *Octavius* had put himself under the king's protection; and *Henry* had done his brother *Horace Farnese* the honour to give him his natural daughter *Diana* in marriage. This house therefore could not be attacked without offending the king. And accordingly he had complained both to the pope and the emperor; but they paid so little regard to these complaints, that they at the same time besieged *Parma*. The king had sent *Peter Strozzi* thither with troops to defend that city; in which he afterwards succeeded so happily, that the marquis *de Gonzago*, who besieged it, was obliged to raise the siege.

It was during the siege of *Parma* that the pope had directed the continuation of the council of *Trent*. The emperor declared by his letters patent, that all the princes subject to the empire should submit to this council, and thither send their deputies, and the prelates of their several states.

The king sent *James Amiot* abbot of *Bellozane* to *Trent*, who in the first session presented the letter which his majesty had written to the assembled prelates. They hesitated at first whether they should receive this letter, because the superscription was, *To the Assembly which is held at Trent*; but at last it was received and read: after which *Amiot* spoke conformably to what it contained, protesting, in the king's name, that he would never acknowledge the assembly to be a legal council, having been convoked by him, who had openly declared himself the king's enemy, and had taken up arms against him and his allies; and that neither the king nor the states of his kingdom would submit to their decrees: and he at the same time demanded an act of his protestation.

The fathers replied some days after by a writing which they published, that the council had been legally assembled: they also prayed the king to permit the prelates and doctors of his kingdom to assist in it; and that, if he refused, they would declare that the
dignity

dignity and authority of the council should receive no prejudice from his refusal.

The council was continued to the end of the month of *April* in the year 1552; when it was interrupted by the wars in *Germany*, and was not reassembled till ten years afterwards. The war between the king and the emperor broke out with great violence. The Protestant princes took advantage of this conjuncture to enter into a confederacy against the emperor. The chief of these confederates, were *Maurice* the new elector of *Saxony*, and *Albert* marquis de *Brandenbourg*: they were very successful, took several towns, gained a battle against the emperor, and obliged him shamefully to fly to *Inspruck*.

Whilst they were acting in this manner, the king, whose assistance they had implored, approached the frontiers of *Germany*, and upon his passage took possession of the towns of *Toul* and *Verdun*, which made no resistance, but surrendered upon the first summons which was made by the constable de *Montmorency*, according to what had been agreed by the treaty of *Chambor*.

As the king had reason to suspect *Christiana* of *Denmark*, mother of the young duke of *Lorrain*, because she was the emperor's niece; he therefore, in his way to *Germany*, deprived her of the government of *Lorrain*, gave it to the count de *Vaudemont* a prince of *Lorrain*, and sent the duke of *Lorrain* into *France* to be educated with the dauphin. From *Lorrain* the king entered *Germany*, where he took *Savonna* and *Weissembourg*: after the taking of which latter he received advice, that, the emperor having offered peace to the confederates, they had given ear to his proposals; and he was even confirmed in the truth of this by their ambassadors, who desired him to retire out of *Germany*, and not be an obstacle to the peace which they had concluded.

The king was both surprized and enraged to see that these princes, instead of taking advantage of this favourable opportunity to free themselves from their subjection to the emperor, should suffer themselves to be deceived by offers, which this prince made them, not with sincerity, but only through fear. He however dissembled his resentment, and entered *Luxembourg*,
where

where he immediately took some important places, and afterwards attacked *Ivoy* and *Montmedy*, and took them, in the year 1552.

It is true, that *Mary* queen of *Hungary*, the emperor's sister, and governess of the *Low Countries*, did send forces upon the frontiers of *Picardy* and *Champaigne*, where they did considerable damage, took *Stenay*, a strong town upon the *Meuse*, and put every thing to fire and sword in the open country. But this loss was inconsiderable, in comparison with the great advantages which the king had gained in this single campaign, which he ended by the conquest of *Bouillon*, of which the emperor had deprived the duke of *Bouillon*, prince of *Sedan*.

Albert marquis of *Brandenbourg*, a prince naturally cruel and sanguinary, seeing the other Protestant princes had made peace with the emperor, undertook to sustain the war alone against him and the Catholics: and he accordingly did sustain it with good success for some time. He ravaged a considerable part of *Germany*, and enriched his troops by the plunder of many opulent places. He declared himself principally an enemy to bishops and priests, of whom he spared none that fell into his hands.

In *Italy* the king's affairs went very well, and, on the contrary, the emperor's were in confusion. The marshal *de Brissac* had forced the *Spaniards* to quit all the towns of *Piedmont*; and the *Siennese*, being succoured by the king's troops, had driven them out of their city, where they were in garrison, and had set their republic at liberty.

These good successes were favoured by the naval forces of the *Turk*, commanded by *Drogoman*, a famous corsair, who took some vessels from *Andrew Doria*, and ravaged the whole coast of *Italy*. He had orders to attack the kingdom of *Naples*, in conjunction with the *French* forces; but because the king's fleet did not arrive exactly on the day appointed, this corsair retired without having done any thing.

In the mean time the emperor, having concluded a peace at *Passau* with the confederate princes, caused it

to

to be reported, that he would turn his arms against *Albert of Brandenburg*, who had taken *Treves*, and ravaged the territories of the ecclesiastical electors: but his real design was to employ his forces against *France*, and begin by the siege of *Metz*. The king, who foresaw this, sent *Francis* duke of *Guise*, together with his brother the duke *d'Elbeuf*, to fortify and defend that place. There was a large and beautiful church in the suburbs of *Metz*, dedicated to *Saint Arnold*, wherein many persons, illustrious for their birth and piety, had been interred, and, among others, *Hildegande* the wife of *Charlemagne* and of *Lewis le Debonnair*. The duke of *Guise* caused all these bodies, both of the saints and princes, to be removed into one of the churches within the walls of the city, in a solemn procession, and then ordered the church of *Saint Arnold* to be pulled down, because it might be of service to the enemy, as well as several others, which were also demolished.

Albert of Brandenburg, who dignified himself with the title of king in the war which he carried on against the Catholics of *Germany*, approached *Metz*, as if with design to assist the *French* in the defence of it; but his real intention was to surprize and take it, that he might make better terms with the emperor, with whom he was in treaty at that time. As the intention of this faithless prince was perceived, he was forced to retire.

Towards the end of the month of *October* the emperor's army, commanded by the duke *d'Alba*, encamped before *Metz*, and formed the siege of it. A few days after *Albert of Brandenburg* joined his troops to the imperial army; and on the 20th of *November* the emperor arrived in the camp. No place was ever attacked with greater force, nor more courageously defended, though there were only 6000 *French* in the garrison. The chief nobility of the kingdom, even the princes of the blood, had entered this place to partake of the glory of so honourable an occasion. The duke of *Guise* sent to tell the king that he did not want assistance, and that if his majesty thought proper, he might employ his forces in retaking *Hejain*, whilst the emperor,

ror, to no purpose, was fatiguing and ruining his own before Metz. The king followed this advice, and took Hesdin.

The emperor in the mean time continued the siege of Metz; and, the cannon having made a considerable breach, he resolved to give the assault, and for this purpose ranged troops to mount the breach, and others to support them. But, the duke of Guise and the whole of the nobility appearing to sustain the attack, neither prayers nor menaces could make the imperial soldiers mount the breach; which obliged the emperor to retire in disgust, saying he was abandoned, and had no longer any men about him. At last the resistance and continual sallies made by the besieged, together with the badness of the weather, obliged the emperor to raise the siege, after having lost 30000 men in it. He left many sick in his camp, whom the duke of Guise treated with humanity, and caused them to be conveyed in boats to Thionville, a town at about five leagues distance, subject to the emperor.

As the siege of Metz was the last of the exploits of Charles, the following verse was made upon the occasion:

Siste viam Metis, hæc tibi meta datur.

In opposition to the device which this emperor had taken, which was the pillars of Hercules, with these words, PLUS ULTRA, a representation of the city of Metz was put up in the publick places at Rome, with these words, *Non plus ultra.*

After the raising of this siege, Albert of Brandenburg, being unable to continue quiet, entered the territories of the duke of Brunswick, his particular enemy, put every thing to fire and sword; and made himself master of most of the considerable towns. After this he commenced a war against the bishops his neighbours, and ravaged their territories with his usual cruelty. But at last he was tried by the imperial chamber of Spire, which proscribed him, and ordered all the princes of the empire to take up arms against him.

In execution of this decree, all the princes having united their forces against this publick disturber, they drove him out of his own territories, and forced him to fly out of *Germany*: and, as he was generally hated by the whole world, he could no-where find an asylum; so that, after having for some years wandered about from country to country, he at last died miserable.

The emperor observing that the *French* after their successes became careless, and did not keep themselves upon their guard, he resolved to take advantage of their negligence; and with this design he sent *Ponce de Lullian-Binecourt*, one of his lieutenants-general, to besiege *Terouenne*, the strongest place which the king had upon the frontiers of the *Low Countries*.

The general executed his commission very successfully, for he took the place in a short time, and demolished it: after which the emperor caused *Hesdin* to be besieged by *Emanuel-Philibert* prince of *Piedmont*, son of the duke of *Savoy*, who took it with the same success, in the year 1553. *Horace Farnese*, who had espoused *Diana* the king's natural daughter, was killed at this siege.

In the mean time the king's naval forces commanded by the baron *de la Garde*, having joined those of the *Turk* under the command of *Dragut*, defeated *Andrew Doria*, and afterwards took the isle of *Corfica*. But soon after, *Dragut* being retired, *Andrew Doria* recovered some places, and the war continued in that island till the conclusion of peace between the two crowns.

Whilst war was thus carried on without the kingdom, the Protestants were persecuted within with great rigour: the usual punishment was to burn them alive; and even the king himself was present at *Paris* at the execution of some of them in this manner.

The death of *Edward VI*, king of *England*, which happened about this time, caused great troubles in that kingdom. This young prince, who was but sixteen years of age when he died, was governed by *John Dudley* duke of *Northumberland*, at whose solicitation and advice he had almost extinguished the Catholick religion, and established that of the Protestants. The duke

duke of *Northumberland* had married his fourth son to the lady *Jane Gray*, grand-daughter of *Mary of England*, the sister of *Henry VIII*, who, after the death of *Lewis XII*, to whom she was married, had espoused the duke of *Suffolk*.

The duke of *Northumberland*, seeing *Edward* was afflicted with a distemper that was incurable, caused his physicians to declare to him, that he would die in a short time. At the same time he represented to him, that it was the duty of so good and pious a king as himself to provide for the security of religion; which he could not do but by excluding his sister *Mary* from the succession to the crown, who was, he said, attached to the superstitions of the church of *Rome*; and that *Elizabeth* being a bastard, the crown of right descended upon the house of *Suffolk*. *Edward*, being persuaded by these reasons, made a will, by which he disinherited his eldest sister *Mary*, declared *Elizabeth* incapable of the succession, and appointed *Jane* the eldest daughter of the duke of *Suffolk* to succeed him. *Edward* caused this will to be approved and signed by the great lords of the kingdom, and died a month after. *Jane* was immediately crowned at *London*, and proclaimed queen, against her own inclination; for she refused this dignity as much as was in her power, and complained of being made to serve the ambition of others.

Mary, to whom the crown rightfully belonged, also took the title of queen; and, being joined by most of the nobility, they conducted her to *London*, and caused her to be crowned there. After the coronation, she, according to custom, gave an entertainment to all those who had assisted in the ceremony; and, when they were at table, an *English* lord named *Mock*, in whose house the place of knight of the honours to the kings of *England* was hereditary, entered the hall on horseback, completely armed, and caused proclamation to be made by an herald who preceded him, that he acknowledged *Mary* to be the lawful heir to the crown, and that if any one dared to say the contrary, he challenged him to single combat: at the same time he threw his

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his glove up into the air, as a mark of defiance, and paced three times round the table; then stopping before the queen, he saluted her, and she drank his health in a cup of gold, of which she made him a present. This ceremony at the coronation of the kings of *England* had been long practised. The duke of *Northumberland*, being abandoned by all his partizans, was taken, condemned to death, and executed. His daughter the lady *Jane Grey* was kept in prison. The queen by publick declaration abolished the Protestant religion, and re-established the Catholick: wherein she found less difficulty in regard to the *English*, than had been expected.

This princess had neither youth nor beauty. She was fifty years of age: for which reason she was not inclined to marriage, judging it would be difficult for an husband to love her. But, as she thought the necessity of her affairs required her to make choice of a powerful prince, she therefore married *Philip* prince of *Spain*, the emperor's son, who had lately ceded to him the kingdom of *Naples* to give him the rank and title of king.

This marriage caused some troubles in *England*: the duke of *Suffolk* from hence took occasion to render the queen odious to the great lords of the kingdom, by insinuating that she had despised them all; and he, with some other malecontents, conspired to replace his daughter upon the throne. But this conspiracy only served to ruin *Jane*; for the queen caused her to be beheaded. *Elizabeth* the queen's sister was suspected of being concerned in the conspiracy: she was therefore put in prison, where she remained till the death of *Mary*. The new king of *Naples* at last arrived at *London*, where he espoused the queen, in the year 1554; and their nuptials were celebrated with all possible magnificence: but the *English* would never permit *Philip* to be crowned, nor to have any authority in the government: they even ridiculed him by libels and other defamatory writings.

All the advantage which the emperor and *Philip* gained by this marriage was, that the queen of *Eng-*

land declared war against France; but the king was then so successful, that new enemies only served to increase his glory. The constable *de Montmorency*, and the other generals who commanded the king's armies, defeated the Imperialists in all places. The emperor lost *Mariembourg*, *Bouines*, *Dinan*; and the consternation throughout *Flanders* was so great, that he was resolved to abandon *Brussels*, in case the king should approach it, which it was thought he would. So many ill successes made *Charles* conclude his good fortune had forsaken him, which so extremely chagrined him, that he took a resolution to divest himself of all his dominions in favour of his son, whereby to oppose a better fortune to that of a young prince who seemed to be everywhere followed by victory. He sent for his son from *England*, and invested him with the dutchy of *Milan*, till such time as he could assemble the states of the *Low Countries*, to resign the sovereignty to him in a general assembly.

In the mean time there passed things in *Italy*, of which it will be necessary to speak. *Cosmo* duke of *Florence*, the most prudent prince and greatest politician that ever governed a state, meditated the subjection of the state of *Sienna* to himself. For this purpose it was necessary to get it out of the power of the king, who was master of it: with this intent he offered forces to the emperor: and a treaty was concluded between them, wherein it was agreed, that the emperor and the duke of *Florence* should, in conjunction, and at an equal expence, undertake to subject *Sienna* to the emperor: that *Cosmo* should furnish the money, troops, and other requisites for the expedition; and that after the success of it, the emperor should reimburse him in ready money; or else should give him territories in the kingdom of *Naples* or the state of *Milan*; and that till he should be entirely satisfied, the state of *Sienna* should remain in his hands.

The conduct of this war was entrusted to the marquis *de Marignano*, in quality of the emperor's lieutenant-general. He was a great general, though but of mean birth. He was called *Medichino*; but he changed
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this name into that of *Medicis*, and had afterwards the boldness to say he was of that house. The glory which he had acquired by arms, and by his personal merit, made the duke of *Florence* tolerate this usurpation, who besides was not sorry that this great general thus became attached to the interests of the house of *Medicis*.

The king opposed the marquis *de Marignano* with *Peter Strozzi*, one of the greatest generals of his time: and *Blaise de Montluc*, an old general of great reputation, who was afterwards raised to the dignity of marshal of *France*, was sent to command in the city of *Sienna*, while *Strozzi* kept the field.

The marquis *de Marignano* besieged *Sienna*, which made so vigorous a resistance, that, finding himself at the end of two months no farther advanced than the first day, he judged it most adviseable to compel the besieged to surrender by famine. In the mean time *Strozzi* ravaged the open country of the state of *Florence*; and defeated all the troops which were sent against him. *Marignano* was therefore obliged to march against him in person, with the greatest part of his army. After several rencounters, wherein *Strozzi* had always the advantage, a battle was at last fought between them on the 2d of *August*, wherein *Strozzi* was defeated and wounded, with the loss of 3000 men. It was remarked after the battle, that the place where it was fought was called *Gallacidio*, and that the evil portent of this name ought to have forewarned the *French* of their defeat.

The *Siennese* were in the mean time in such an extreme want of provisions, that each person was allowed only nine ounces of bread a day. But, as they fought for their liberty, and were in daily expectation of being relieved, even famine could not make them surrender. But, as their hopes were disappointed by the king's being too much engaged in the *Low Countries* to be able to send troops into *Italy*, and provisions at last absolutely failing, they surrendered, after fifteen months siege, in the month of *August* 1555, upon condition that the city and republic of *Sienna* should remain under the emperor's protection, who should place therein

such garrison as he thought proper, but without infringing the liberties of the republick, either in the form of government, or the election of magistrates. It was stipulated in one of the articles of the capitulation, that the *French* should retire in safety wherever they had a mind. But *Montluc* refused to sign the treaty; saying, his name should never be seen to a treaty for the surrender of this city; that the *Siennese* might treat for him, and for whomever they pleased; but that neither he, nor any of the *French* with him, should be concerned in it, esteeming it unworthy of the majesty of the king. The marquis *de Marignano* ordered him to be told, that he must, nevertheless, treat in the king's name, if he expected to retire from the place in safety: he replied, that he would retire in consequence of the treaty of the *Siennese*, and that, if he was attacked he knew how to defend himself. He accordingly did retire, without having entered into any particular treaty, or signed that of the *Siennese*, and received nothing but civilities from the marquis *de Marignano*, who greatly admired his firmness. From thence he returned into *France*, and repaired to court: and the king, in recompence of his services, honoured him with the collar of his order, which at that time was a mark of the greatest distinction, because it was conferred only on those who were worthy of it.

About this time was discovered a conspiracy formed by the *Cordeliers* of *Metz* to deliver that city to the emperor. Their general chapter was shortly to be held there; and they had previously agreed to receive soldiers into their convent, which were to be sent them habited like *Cordeliers*, as though they were foreigners of that order who came to the chapter; and, under pretence of bringing in wine and corn in great casks as provision for the *Cordeliers*, they were to receive arms, with which these casks were to be filled. But, the design being discovered, the *Cordeliers* were punished as they deserved, and their convent given to the *Rocollets*, who are possessed of it at this day.

The promotion of *John Caraffa* to the sovereign pontificate caused a general change in the state of affairs, and

and seemed to dispose things to a peace. *Julius III* died during the siege of *Sienna*, by having, as it was said, too much abandoned himself to his pleasures, and principally those of eating and drinking. His immediate successor was cardinal *Marcellus Cervin*, who, contrary to custom, retained his name. He was a man of uncommon probity and prudence, and of profound learning: but he died the twentieth day of his pontificate, and by his death confirmed the superstitious opinion, that the popes who do not change their names die soon after their promotion.

Cardinal *John Caraffa* was elected in his place. He was a man of great learning, and of one of the most illustrious houses in *Naples*. He took the name of *Paul IV*. His major-domo having asked him in what manner he would live in regard to his household, *Magnificently*, said he, *and as becomes a great prince*. In all the former part of his life he had made profession of great austerity of manners, and, even when he was bishop of *Theate* or *Chieti*, had instituted a society of priests, who were called *Theatins*, with whom he led a life, not only estranged from the ways of the world, but even of the greatest austerity: but as soon as he was in possession of the holy see, this austerity changed into pride. He hated the emperor, having received some affront from him when only a cardinal. He therefore immediately declared himself a partizan of *France*, and made *Charles Caraffa* a cardinal, who had long borne arms in the service of *France*, and preserved an inveterate hatred against the *Spaniards*, because, when he was in the emperor's service, he had received an injury from a *Spaniard*, for which he had not been able to do himself justice, the duke of *Alba*, to whom he had complained of it, having dismissed him with ridicule and contempt, when he asked him leave to fight the person who had injured him. A desire to be revenged on the *Spaniards*, made him engage the pope to conclude a treaty with *France*, the conditions of which were (according to *de Thou*, who assures us he was possessed of the treaty) that the pope and the king should carry on a war against the emperor in *Italy*;

that the army should be commanded by a *French* general, whose dignity should be that of a prince, and that the war should be begun by the conquest of the kingdom of *Naples*, which should be afterwards given by the pope to one of the king's children; that from thence their forces should enter *Tuscany*, and compel the *Medici's* to retire out of it; the republick of *Florence* was to be restored to its liberty; and, finally, the expedition was to be ended by the conquest of the dutchy of *Milan*.

This treaty was concluded by the cardinal *de Lorraine* at *Rome*. He flattered himself with the hope that his brother the duke of *Guise* would command the army; that he would make the conquest of *Naples*; and that perhaps the king, in recompence for the conquest, would give it to him. It was with this view that the duke of *Guise* assumed the title as heir to the house of *Anjou*.

The constable opposed this league, blamed it as destructive to the state, and said it would be more advantageous to conclude a peace, the treaty for which was greatly advanced. The constable was seconded in this, with great freedom and spirit by the cardinal *de Tournon*, who affirmed the pope had no troops, nor had made any of the preparations necessary for a war of such importance. But the cardinal *de Lorraine*, whom the king had sent to *Rome* for the conclusion of this treaty, carried it against them; and after, the completion of it, he went to *Venice* to endeavour to engage that republick in the war; but he found the *Venetians* not in the least disposed to listen to his proposals.

The emperor, suspecting this league, chagrined also because his good fortune declined with him, and afflicted by his corporal infirmities, which were very great, divested himself of the lordship and sovereignty of the *Low Countries*, in favour of his son *Philip*, at *Brussels*, on the 24th of *November*: and a few days after he also ceded to him the kingdom of *Spain*, with all its dependencies, in presence of the grandees, whom he had sent for to *Brussels*, and reserved to himself only

ly a pension of 100000 crowns. He also made fresh efforts to incline his brother *Ferninand*, king of the *Romans*, to cede the empire to *Philip*; but finding him firm and inflexible in this point, he at last divested himself of the empire in his favour. Some months after he retired into a very agreeable solitude in *Spain* seven leagues from *Placentia*, upon the frontiers of *Portugal*, in a monastery of the order of *Saint Jerome*: but it is said, he was hardly arrived in this place, when he repented his having thus divested himself of every thing, because he found not his pension upon his arrival, as he had expected. Thus *Philip of Austria* took possession of the dominions of his father.

Though the treaty was signed between *France* and the pope, the king nevertheless continued the conferences which were begun for a peace between the two crowns: and at last a truce was agreed on for five years; after which the constable opposed the league more strongly than ever: he never ceased remonstrating to the king the shame and dishonour of breaking a truce which he had sworn to observe: and the authority and prudence of this great man, which were known to the king, withheld him; though he was strongly solicited not to let the opportunity slip of rendering himself master of the kingdom of *Naples*.

The pope in the mean time took up arms against the king of *Spain* as an usurper of the rights of the holy see, and caused him to be tried by *Fiscal* his procurer, who declared him divested of all right to the kingdoms of *Naples* and *Sicily*, in the year 1556. At the same time cardinal *Caraffa* came into *France*, in quality of legate from the holy see, to determine the king to declare himself openly for the pope: and herein *Caraffa* succeeded; in consequence of which, it was resolved to carry on the war in *Italy*, not by attacking the king of *Spain*, but by defending the pope. The legate, whose religion was not the most strict, assured the king he need have no scruples in regard to this war, because he had power from the pope to free and absolve him from the oath which he had taken to observe the truce.

Philip, being informed of the resolution taken in *France*, ordered *Alvarez de Toledo* duke of *Alba* to begin the war, and not wait till the *French* troops should arrive in *Italy*. *Alvarez* executed his orders with such success, that the pope, being frightened by the loss of his towns, none of which made any resistance, and fearing lest the duke of *Alba* should march directly to *Rome*, made overtures for an accommodation, and entered into a negotiation, which, by a truce of some months, stopped the progress of the *Spaniards*. But, when the duke of *Guise* arrived with the *French* troops, *Paul* thought no more of peace.

The *Spaniards* deliberated whether they should give battle to the *French* upon their arrival: and the duke of *Alba's* final resolution was, not to expose himself to their first fury, but rather to keep himself on the defensive, by throwing his troops into the fortified places in the kingdom of *Naples*, to prevent their getting possession of them, saying (as experience had upon all occasions fully evinced) that the *French* in their first effort seemed more than men, but that, their first fury being over, they became less than women. The duke of *Guise* therefore, finding no enemies to encounter in the open field, entered the kingdom of *Naples* in the year 1557.

He immediately made himself master of some places; and in the *Abruzzo* besieged the city of *Civitella*, where he met with so vigorous a resistance, that after twenty-two days siege he found himself not in the least advanced, though he had lost a great number of men. Upon this the duke of *Alba* took the field: but the duke of *Guise* did not wait his coming; for, upon the first advice which he received of his march, he raised the siege, and retired with his troops into a place of safety.

The marshal *de Brissac* carried on the war to greater advantage in the *Milanese*, where he daily made new conquests, and was master of the field.

Cosmo duke of *Florence*, who had long desired to unite the state of *Sienna* to that of *Florence*, thought this a favourable opportunity to put his design in execution,

cution, because the affairs of the *Spaniards* were in such a situation, that they had need of him. He therefore represented to *Philip*, that he had long sustained the war in his service, and in that of the emperor his father, without having ever received any recompence, or being reimbursed the expences he had been obliged to be at; and that, nevertheless, he perceived it was proposed to give the state of *Sienna* to the *Caraffa's*, whereby they would be made his neighbours, whom he had rendered his enemies by attaching himself to the interests of *Spain*; and that then there would be no longer any security for him. *Cosmo* knew well enough that the *Spaniards* never designed to give *Sienna* to the *Caraffa's*; but as the pope had demanded it in the propositions of peace which had been made between him and the duke of *Alba*, this was sufficient for *Cosmo* whereon to ground his complaints and demands. And he added, that if *Philip* had a mind to give this state to any body, justice required it to be given to him, rather than any other; and therefore he desired him to think of it, and give him his answer, that he might take his measures accordingly. *Cosmo* at the same time dispatched an abler negotiator to *Rome*, who gave the pope to understand that his master desired to be at peace with the holy see, provided he could at the same time be safe with regard to the king, which could not be done but by a close alliance. The pope, who readily apprehended the meaning of the words close alliance, and who was sensible how advantageous it would be to have *Cosmo* in his interests, promised him to get one of the king's daughters to be given in marriage to his eldest son *Francis*; and he soon after gave him positive assurance of this from *Henry* himself, whose consent he had obtained. *Cosmo*, who affected to keep the affair a profound secret, artfully contrived to have it now made publick; so that the king of *Spain*, being apprized of it, resolved at all events to break off the alliance, and retain *Cosmo* in his interests: and, though he had considered his remonstrances as too bold, and event insolent, he resolved, nevertheless, to comply

with them, and accordingly put him actually in possession of the whole state of *Sienna*. Thus *Cosmo*, having had the address to deceive the pope and the kings of *France* and *Spain*, obtained the reward of his superior policy and dissimulation.

The duke of *Guise* was unfortunate upon all occasions in the war of which he had the conduct against *Spain*. He attributed his bad success to the little care which the pope took to send him the supplies which he had engaged to furnish. The pope promised them perpetually: but his performances never answered his promises; because he was in truth unable to execute them. At last the duke of *Guise* could not refrain from blaming the cardinal *de Lorraine* his brother, with rashness and imprudence, for having thus engaged *France* in the war; and he desired the king to give him leave to return into *France*: but, on the contrary, he received orders to continue in *Italy*, and obey the pope in every thing. After this affairs went always worse and worse; and the pope, finding himself pressed by the duke of *Alba*, at last concluded a treaty with him upon the following conditions:

That the king of *Spain* should pay him the homage which he owed him for the kingdoms of *Naples* and *Sicily*, and should restore all he had taken from the state of the holy see; and that the pope, on his side, should give his friendship to *Philip*, and should separate himself from the interests of *France*. Thus *Paul* made his peace with *Spain*, and left *France* very disadvantageously engaged in a war, which at last was ended by a dishonourable peace. When the duke of *Guise* took leave of the pope, his holiness contemptuously told him, he had done nothing in the war to serve the king, the church, or his own reputation. But this was not till after the loss of *Saint Quentin*.

The king of *Spain* had 55000 men in arms upon the frontiers of *Picardy*, under the command of the duke of *Savoy*, who, having commanded the troops of *Spain* under *Charlequint*, when he was only prince of *Piedmont*, commanded now under *Philip II*, not being able to do any thing more advantageous for his glory and interests,

ests, than to carry on a war against the king, who was master both of *Savoy* and *Piedmont*.

The duke of *Savoy* therefore having besieged *Saint Quentin* in *Picardy*, one of the strongest places upon the frontiers, *Gaspard de Coligny*, governor of the province, threw himself into the place to defend it, together with *Francis de Coligny d'Andelot* his brother, colonel-general of the *French* infantry. But, as the place was in want of provisions, ammunition, and troops, *Coligny* pressed the constable his maternal uncle to send him all these: and several attempts were made to get them into the place, but in vain; it was impossible to surprize the vigilance of the enemy, who constantly defeated and repulsed those who presented themselves to relieve the place.

At last, the constable himself having undertaken to succour it, and having advanced with his whole army, in order to support those who were commanded to enter the place, the enemy gave him battle, and defeated him: he was taken prisoner, and with him the dukes of *Montpensier* and *Longueville*, the marshal de *Saints Andrew*, and several other persons of the first rank. *Francis de Bourbon*, brother to the prince of *Condé*, was slain, and almost all the officers who were not made prisoners; for none took to flight. This was a great and fatal defeat to *France*; ruined the successes of many preceding years, and in some measure entirely destroyed the king's prosperity.

Ferdinand de Gonzaga, marquis of *Mantua*, advised the king of *Spain* to quit the siege of *Saint Quentin*, and march directly to *Paris*: and, had this advice been followed, *Philip* might have made himself master of it; for there were no forces in the kingdom to oppose him, and the consternation among the people was so great, that, instead of having courage to take up arms in their defence, they thought of nothing but flying from the enemy. But *Philip* thought his glory required him not to abandon a siege which was begun; and that, after the reduction of that place, he might still have time to penetrate into the heart of the kingdom.

But

But the face of affairs was soon changed; for the king by this means had time to convoke the Arrier ban, and assemble troops sufficient to defend the interior parts of the kingdom. In the mean time *Philip* came to the camp before *Saint Quentin* to hasten the siege: the besieged defended themselves with incredible valour; but at last they were forced, and the place was taken by assault on the twenty-second of *August* 1557. *Coligny* and *d'Andelot* were made prisoners.

From thence the enemy marched to attack the *Chatelet*, a very strong place, which they took in seven days, through the cowardice of the officers and soldiers, who, on the appearance of the enemy, were intimidated, and never regained their courage, notwithstanding the remonstrances of *Solignac* governor of the place, who in vain told them, that, the fortifications being good, they might hold out a long time.

Fortune continuing to favour the *Spaniards*, they took *Noyen*, and several other places in *Picardy*: but winter at last put a stop to their conquests, and obliged them to put their troops into quarters, which they did in the countries they had conquered:

The year 1558 commenced gloriously for the king, by the taking of *Calais* from the *English*, who did not in the least apprehend a siege of this place, believing the king was not in a condition even to resist the *Spaniards*, much less to make enterprizes upon his neighbours. But their confidence made the king resolve to besiege the place: for which purpose he appointed the duke of *Guise*, and under him his brother the duke *d'Aumale*, and the marshals *Strozzi* and *de Termes*. My lord *Dumford*, who commanded in the place, surrendered upon articles on the 10th of *January* 1558. *Calais* had been taken from the *French* two hundred and ten years before, after a whole year's siege, by the king of *England*.

Guifnes, *Thionville*, and *Arlon* were also taken from the enemy, which in some degree repaired past losses, and rendered the *Spaniards* less bold to attempt new enterprizes. The king took this opportunity of the publick rejoicing for these successes to conclude the marriage of *Francis*, dauphin of *France*, with *Mary Stuart*,

art, queen of Scotland. After which the prince was called the *Dauphin King*, and *Mary* the *Dauphin Queen*.

The duke de *Guise* had the command of the armies in the absence of the constable, who was prisoner : and he meditated means to keep this command even after the constable's return. He judged that the disgrace of *d'Andelot* the constable's nephew would be a necessary step towards succeeding in his design ; and he imagined, that, by discovering to the king that *d'Andelot* adhered to the errors of the protestants, he might incline his majesty to deprive him of the post of colonel-general of the *French* infantry. Accordingly he caused the king to be told by other persons, that this general entertained dangerous sentiments in regard to religion, and upon all occasions spoke injuriously and with impiety of the sacrifice of mass. The king, who loved *d'Andelot*, sent for him, and, having warned him to speak with prudence and circumspection, and reply so as to silence his accusers, he asked him in presence of the whole court, what was his belief in regard to the sacrifice of mass ? *d'Andelot* did not reply as the king expected and desired, but according to his belief, and openly declared that he was of the sect of *Calvin* ; which so incensed the king, that he immediately imprisoned him at *Melun*. But he soon after released him at the solicitation of the constable.

The king had commanded the marshal *de Termes* to enter *Flanders* with a body of 5000 men, and to penetrate as far into the country as he could, assuring him the duke of *Guise* should join him, at a certain time which he should appoint, with a strong corps of troops. The marshal executed the king's orders very successfully ; took *Dunkirk* and *Berg*, and plundered them ; and spread such a panick throughout *Flanders*, that if the duke of *Guise* had come when he ought, great conquests might have been made : but he did not appear. *De Thou* says, his private interest carried it upon this occasion against his duty, and that by an affected delay, he was the cause of *France's* losing one of the greatest advantages she could ever have hoped. But this historian does not explain himself farther. Others say,

say, he had an intelligence with the king of *Spain*, whom he had given to understand, that religion was in great danger in the kingdom, had exhorted him to defend it with all his forces, and had promised him assistance in every thing he should undertake with this design. If this was true, the duke of *Guise*, no doubt, would not, as he might, contribute to the king of *Spain's* losing one of his provinces. But, let this be as it will, it is certain, that he did continue twenty days in the same place, instead of marching immediately to enter *Flanders*, as the king had ordered him.

In the mean time the marshal *de Termes*, who had penetrated into the country only in confidence of being supported, finding the duke of *Guise* did not appear at the time appointed, began to think of making his retreat. But the count *d'Egmont* attacked him near *Gravelines* with 10000 men, defeated him, and took him prisoner. Very few escaped from this defeat; for those who fled from the field were slain by the peasants. This new misfortune completed the preceding losses, and determined the king to consent to a disadvantageous peace, which was concluded in the month of *February* 1559, at the castle of *Cambray*. The principal articles were, that the king of *Spain* should restore *Saint Quentin*, and all that he had taken in *Picardy*, and should espouse *Elizabeth* the king's eldest daughter, aged only twelve years. *Philip* had before demanded her for his son *Charles*; but, finding himself a widower by the death of the queen of *England*, he then demanded this young princess for himself. The other conditions were, that the king should surrender *Savoy* and *Piedmont* to the duke of *Savoy*, except the cities of *Turin* and *Pignerol*; that he should give that duke his sister *Margaret* in marriage, and should abandon all the places he possessed in *Italy* and *Corfica*.

During the negotiation of this peace, the king of *Spain* demanded of the *Venetians*, that, as they had given the precedence to the ambassadors of the emperor his father, before those of all other potentates, they should likewise give it to his. *Philip* hoped, that, after he had obtained this of the *Venetians*, the pope could not refuse

refuse him the same prerogative. But *Francis de Noailles* bishop of *Acqs*, the king's ambassador, opposed this demand, and so well maintained the rights of his master, that the senate ordered the ambassador of *France* should, according to antient custom, precede that of *Spain*. *Philip*, being offended by this declaration, recalled his ambassador from *Venice*; and it was long before another was sent there.

In the mean time, the emperor *Ferdinand* having sent his great chamberlain to *Rome*, to make his submissions to the pope, *Paul VI* declared he could not acknowledge him for emperor; that the electors had no right to give him the imperial dignity without the consent of the holy see; that therefore he must first renounce his election, and demand the empire of the holy see. The ambassador protested against this declaration, and then quitted *Rome*. Yet the pope continued inflexible in this point as long as he lived. But *Pius IV*, his successor, afterwards confirmed the election of *Ferdinand*.

It was also during the negotiation of peace that the emperor *Charles V* died. As his infirmities made him sensible his death approached, he had prepared himself for it by a very extraordinary action. He had caused his obsequies to be solemnized at *Brussels*, upon his resignation in favour of his son and brother, as we have already observed: he had assisted in this ceremony, with all his domesticks in mourning, and cast holy water himself upon the sepulchral shroud, then laid himself in it, arose again to go to the offering, and afterwards replaced himself as before: by which he caught a cold, of which he never recovered as long as he lived. It is pretended, that he enjoined his son *Philip* in his will to make satisfaction to the house of *Albert*, from which his uncle *Ferdinand* of *Arragon* had usurped the kingdom of *Navarre*. But, supposing it to be true, *Philip* did not execute this article of his father's will. It is farther said, that upon his death-bed he recommended the same thing to *Philip III* his son, who also neglected to execute it. *Charlequint* died in the year 1558, aged fifty eight years. He left three
legitimate

legitimate children, by *Elizabeth* of *Arragon* his wife ; which were, *Philip* II king of *Spain* ; *Maria-Augusta*, who was married to *Maximilian* son of the emperor *Ferdinand*, and his successor in the empire ; and *Jane* the wife of *John* prince of *Portugal* : he also left two natural children, *Margaret* and *John* of *Austria*.

Great changes happened at *Rome* about this time, through the sudden aversion which the pope conceived for his nephews. He was informed that the *Caraffa's* committed great acts of injustice in the government of the state ; and, having himself examined into the truth of this information, and being convinced of it, he was so incensed thereby, that he obliged the cardinal his nephew to quit the palace of the *Vatican*, deprived him, and all the other *Caraffa's* of their power and employments, and forbade them ever to appear again in his presence. He then freed the people from the taxes which had been imposed on them, and applied himself entirely to the government, both spiritual and temporal. The punishment of the *Caraffa's* was afterwards continued with equal severity by his successor.

He established several bishopricks in those places where there was the greatest danger of heresies perverting the Catholics ; as in the *Low Countries*, where, at the request of *Philip* II, he erected *Antwerp*, *Haerlem*, *Deventer*, *Lewenter*, *Groningen*, *Boisleduc*, *Namur*, *Saint Omer*, *Ypres*, *Ghent*, and *Bruges*, into bishopricks ; and *Malines*, *Utrecht*, and *Cambray*, into archbishopricks. This last was erected in some measure to the shame of the *French* ; for not only the bishoprick of *Cambray*, but also those of *Tournay* and *Arras*, were withdrawn from the jurisdiction of the archbishoprick of *Rheims*. The cardinal *de Lorraine* was accused, upon this occasion, for having contented himself with only making protestations against this new establishment, made in prejudice of his church ; instead of opposing it strongly ; as he might have done, having the king's authority so to do. But, says *de Thou*, he was willing to please the king of *Spain*, and by this connivance, give him proofs, that he was beginning to execute the treaty he had lately concluded with him, whereby he and his brethren.

brethren promised to use their utmost efforts to destroy the hereticks ; and *Philip* promised to assist them in all their enterprizes.

Mary queen of *England* dying just before the treaty of *Cambray*, the title and arms of the queen of *England* were assumed by *Mary Stuart*, as being the rightful heir to the crown, because she was descended from a daughter of *England* ; whereas *Elizabeth*, who in the mean time had caused herself to be crowned queen, could only be considered as the natural daughter of *Henry VIII.*, by *Ann Boleyn*.

Elizabeth in the mean was in possession of the kingdom : and, as she was attached to the Protestant religion, she abolished the Catholick, assumed the title of supreme head of the church of *England*, and re-established things almost in the same state they were in under the reign of *Edward* her brother. She caused all images to be taken out of the churches, except that of the crucifixion, and commenced her reign by a treaty of peace with *France*, whereby *Calais* was confirmed to the king, in consideration of a sum of money which he promised to pay her.

The dutchess *de Valentinois*, and the *Lorraine* princes, persecuted the sectaries (which name was given those who adhered to the doctrines of *Luther* and *Calvin*) : but they were actuated herein by different motives ; for the dutchess enriched herself by the spoils of those who were condemned, and the *Lorraine* princes established their authority by shewing themselves zealous in the cause of religion.

As this woman and these princes had great power over the king, who was himself inclined to moderation, they forced him into a resolution to exterminate those who followed the new doctrines : in pursuance of which, he ordered the parliament to proceed against them with the utmost rigour ; and, because some of the officers of this court were suspected of favouring them, the king went to the parliament on a day of the Mercurial, when they were assembled to deliberate upon the means to oppose the heresy.

The Mercurials are certain assemblies of some of the presidents and officers of each chamber of parliament, to deliberate upon such matters as the solicitor-general shall then present to them, in regard to proper regulations, the correction of abuses, and of particular crimes; and, their resolutions being afterwards approved in the general assembly, they are then considered and observed as laws. They were established by *Charles VIII.* *Lewis XII* ordered they should be held once or twice a month; that the king's solicitor and advocates should therein declare and make known such disorders as might come to their knowledge; and that, at their request, those who might be in fault should be amicably reprov'd and advis'd, in case the fault was not considerable; but that, in crimes of consequence, the court should punish the criminals, by depriving them of their employments, for a limited time, or for ever; and that a register should be kept of every thing that was done, which should be brought to the king. *Francis I* had ordered the Mercurials to be held once a month, and *Henry II* once in three months.

One of these days, the whole parliament being assembled to deliberate what punishment should be inflicted on the sectaries, the king went thither, without any previous notice; and, as they had commenced their deliberations before his arrival, he ordered them to proceed, and speak their opinions freely.

Ann du Bourg, priest and counsellor, and *Lewis du Four*, both spoke, with great spirit and freedom, in favour of the sectaries, blaming the cruelty with which they were used, and strongly exclaiming against the irregularities of the court of *Rome*, and all the ecclesiasticks of the kingdom: and they concluded, that none ought to be condemned or punished, except those who should be really found guilty of some crime. The presidents, and principally *Christopher du Harlay*, *Peter Segulier*, and *Christopher de Thou*, spoke agreeably to the same sentiments, but with great prudence, moderation, and respect for the king.

Giles le Maitre, a creature of the dutchess *de Valentinois* and the *Lorraine* princes, who was first president, declaimed

declaimed against the sectaries; and said, the king ought to imitate *Philip-Augustus*, who caused six hundred *Albigenses* to be burnt in one day. The king, having caused these opinions to be given in writing, said, he perceived that what had been told him was true, in regard to certain counsellors of parliament, who contemned his and the pope's authority: and then rising, he commanded the constable to seize some of them; among others, *du Bourg* and *du Four*: and *Gabriel de Montgomery*, who was commissioned for the purpose, conducted them to the *Bastile*. This action happened on the 4th of *June*; the parliament being then assembled at the *Augustines*, because the palace was preparing for the marriage of the duke of *Savoy* with *Margaret* the king's sister.

Du Bourg, being questioned by the judges delegated by the king, refused to answer, it being a privilege of the counsellors of parliament not to reply in any criminal case, of which they may be accused, but before the officers of their own body: but, new letters being received from the king, wherein he was enjoined to reply on pain of being declared guilty of high-treason, he obeyed, having first protested that he did not hereby relinquish his privilege.

His reply to all the articles of religion proposed to him, was according to the doctrine of the sectaries; whereupon *Eustachius du Bellay* bishop of *Paris*, who was present, declared him an heretick, and ordered him to be delivered to the secular power for punishment. *Du Bourg* appealed from this sentence to the archbishop of *Sens*.

Preparations were now making at court to celebrate the marriage above-mentioned with the greatest pomp and magnificence: for which purpose the king ordered a tournament, wherein he resolved himself to break a lance against *Gabriel de Lorges* count de *Montgomery*, captain of his guards, who was esteemed the roughest tilter in *France*. *Montgomery* long refused, and used his utmost endeavours to be excused; but he was at last obliged to obey the king. They therefore ran against each other, and broke their lances; but a splinter of *Montgomery's*

Montgomery's launce penetrated the vizor of the king's helmet, entered through his eye deep into his head, and mortally wounded him.

He immediately lost his speech and senses, as we are assured by all our historians, except *Belleforet*, who says the king spoke afterwards, and ordered the marriage of his sister and the duke of *Savoy* to be concluded immediately. Whether he gave this order or not, it was, however, punctually obeyed; for they were married instantly, and without ceremony: the duke and princess, loving each other, and fearing lest something should happen to separate them, made haste to prevent it. Ten days after the king died of his wound, aged forty years, the 10th of *July*.

It was said the queen had consulted an astrologer touching the life and fortune of the king, and that he had told her he would be killed in a duel: but this prediction had been exploded, as there was not the least appearance the king would ever be obliged to fight in single combat.

He left four sons; *Francis*, who succeeded him, *Charles*, *Alexander*, and *Hercules*: the names of these two last were afterwards changed into those of *Henry* and *Francis*, to preserve and honour the memory of their father and grandfather. He also left three daughters; *Elizabeth* queen of *Spain*, *Claudia* dutchess of *Lorraine*, and *Margaret*, who was first queen of *Navarre*, and afterwards of *France*.

F R A N C I S II.

AS soon as *Henry* was dead, the duke of *Guise*, and the cardinal *de Lorraine*, carried the first account of it to *Francis II*, his eldest son, saluted him king, and conducted him to the *Hotel des Tournelles*, then situated upon the present royal square of the castle of the *Louvre*; to which castle *James* of *Savoy*, duke of *Nemours*, conducted the queen mother, to whom the palace *des Tournelles* was become so insupportable, since her husband

band died in it, that she caused it to be pulled down; and ever since that time the *Louvre* has been the ordinary residence of our kings. The constable de *Montmorency*, by agreement between the queen and the *Lorraine* princes, was left, as in derision, to guard the corps of the deceased king.

The *Lorraine* princes, who had long sought means to supplant him, thought this a favourable opportunity: they were uncles to the young queen, who was a princess of an ambition superior to her years, and governed the king her husband according to the will of her uncles.

The queen mother, a woman insatiably desirous of command, joined the *Lorraine* princes, that by them she might obtain the government, which of right belonged to *Antony* of *Bourbon* king of *Navarre*, and his brother *Lewis* of *Bourbon* prince of *Condé*, first princes of the blood: for the king, aged only sixteen years and some months, was yet considered as a minor, notwithstanding the declarations of the preceding kings. She therefore declared herself against the constable, not only because she had particular causes of hatred against him, but also because she was persuaded he would endeavour to place the princes of the blood at the head of affairs, in order to keep out the *Lorraine* princes, who were his competitors.

And, indeed, this sage old man, foreseeing the king's death would cause a great change in the government, had sent to the king of *Navarre* the very day the king was wounded, desiring him to come immediately to court, to take upon him the care of the kingdom, which belonged to him, in case the king should die: but this prince, being of a slow and irresolute disposition, did not arrive till after the queen and the *Lorraine* princes were in possession of the government.

Queen *Catharine* now shewed her hatred of the dutchess de *Valentinois*, to whom she had till then rendered submissions which were unbecoming her rank: she commanded her to retire from court, and deprived her of a considerable part of her riches: and this woman, who, by her violences and her avarice, had made herself
many

many enemies, saw herself in a moment abandoned by those who had shewn her the greatest affection, not except even the duke *d'Aumale* brother to the duke of *Guise*, though he had espoused one of her daughters.

All those who had any connection with the constable were obliged to retire from court: and the cardinal *de Tournon* was recalled. When the king received the submissions of the parliament, he declared to the deputies of this body, that he had made choice of the duke of *Guise* and the cardinal *de Lorraine*, on whom to repose the care of all affairs, and had given the conduct of the war to one of them, and the management of the finances to the other; and therefore they must for the future, whenever they had occasion, address themselves to them.

Upon this the constable demanded his dismissal, and retired to his house at *Chantilly*. It is said, that, when he took leave of the queen, she reproached him with having told the late king, that, of all his children, *Diana*, which he had by his mistress and not by his wife, was the only one that resembled him. But *de Thou* assures us, that the constable was upon all occasions too prudent to have said any thing of this nature. *Francis de Montmorency*, his eldest son, was obliged to resign the post of grand-master of the king's household, which was afterwards given to the duke of *Guise*: and *Francis* in lieu of this was made a marshal of *France* extraordinary, there being then no vacancy.

Affairs were in this situation when the king went to *Rheims*, where he was crowned by the cardinal *de Lorraine*, archbishop of that place. After the coronation he went to *Bar*, where his brother-in-law, the duke of *Lorraine*, came to pay his respects to him; and, to gratify this prince, *Francis* relinquished the sovereignty of the dutchy of *Bar* in his favour, at the persuasion of the *Guise's*: which, says *de Thou*, was a treacherous persuasion, and prejudicial to the royal dignity: but the king reserved to himself only the fealty and homage of it.

When the king was returned to *Paris*, the affair was resumed of the two counsellors of parliament, who had been
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been imprisoned under the preceding reign. *Du Bourg* had appealed from the sentence of the bishop of *Paris* to the archbishop of *Sens*; who having also condemned him, he again appealed from him to the archbishop of *Lyons*, who was then the cardinal *de Tournon*, and also confirmed the sentence: whereupon he was degraded of the character of pastor by the bishop of *Paris*, delivered up to the secular power, and condemned to death. This decree was executed in the square, called the *Greve*, where he was strangled, and his body afterwards burnt. He was aged thirty-eight years, was a native of *Riom* in *Auvergne*, and of the same house with *Antony du Bourg*, chancellor of *France* under *Francis I.*

Before the Judges, and at the place of execution, he shewed a calmness and tranquillity of soul, which seemed to be only the effect of a firm belief that he died in a good cause: and his punishment, instead of intimidating or discouraging the protestants, confirmed them in their errors, and encouraged them to support with constancy the persecution. *Du Bourg* perverted a great number as he was going to the place of execution. The trial of *du Four*, who was also counsellor of parliament, had been imprisoned with *du Bourg*, was protracted, and at last he was set at liberty.

In the mean time the sectaries of *France* passed daily into *Spain*, where they preached their errors: and those of *Germany* did the same in the *Low Countries*; which greatly disturbed *Philip*, who judged that his presence was necessary in *Spain* to prevent the evil with which it was menaced. He therefore determined to go thither, and leave *Spanish* garrisons in all the towns of the *Low Countries*; but, these towns refusing absolutely to receive foreign troops into their garrisons, he was obliged to change this part of his design, and content himself with recommending the care of religion to *Margaret* dutchess of *Parma*, natural daughter of the emperor *Charles V.*, whom he left governess of the *Low Countries*, and to the great lords of the country, whom he appointed for her counsellors.

As soon as he arrived in *Spain*, he caused the sectaries to be treated with such rigour, that they were in a short time

time exterminated, and their errors prevented from infecting his kingdoms. He even caused the confessor of the emperor his father to be put to death, and ordered the will of this prince to be condemned by the inquisition, as containing some things which appeared to favour the doctrine of the hereticks.

About this time died pope *Paul IV*, aged eighty-three years. The populace immediately pulled down the arms of the *Caraffa's*, wherever they were, broke the head of a statue of the pope, which was in the capital, and in derision rolled it about the streets for three days together. They broke open the prison of the inquisition, and, having released all the prisoners, set fire to it. Four months after, *Paul's* successor was declared, who was the cardinal *John-Angelo de Medicis*, who, though but of mean extraction, had like his brother the marquis of *Marignano*, assumed the name and arms of the *Medicis*. He changed his name to that of *Pius IV*; and, to unite himself closer to the house of *Medicis*, he made *John* the second son of the duke of *Florence* a cardinal, though he was only fourteen years old.

He commenced his pontificate by acknowledging *Ferdinand* of *Austria*, the brother of *Charles V*, to be emperor, which his predecessor had always refused; and he reversed almost every thing he had done. He raised *Charles Borromeo* his nephew to the dignity of a cardinal, gave him the archbishoprick of *Milan*, and the care of the ecclesiastical affairs of that state. But this prelate being persuaded that it was his duty to take care of his diocese, abandoned that of the state after the death of his uncle, and retired to *Milan*, where he lived and died, exercising the functions of his ministry.

At the beginning of the year 1560 was formed the celebrated conspiracy of *Amboise* against the princes of the house of *Guise*. As every body was not only dissatisfied with their government, but also incensed against them, more especially the protestants, an infinite number of persons, of all conditions, and from all the provinces of the kingdom, entered into it; and, though

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the conspirators were almost all Protestants, yet there were some Catholicks among them.

The names of the first authors of this conspiracy are not known. The prince of *Condé*, brother to the king of *Navarre*, a man of great courage, was chosen by the conspirators to be their chief; but his name did not appear, he having reserved himself for an open declaration, till those who conducted the enterprize should have brought it to a fair probability of success.

The person substituted as his lieutenant was *Godfrey Barry de la Renaudie*, a young gentleman of one of the best houses in *Perigord*, who wanted neither courage nor conduct. The names of the conspirators were given to him, and he was charged to go into the provinces to confer with them, solicit others, and gain as many as he could. He executed this commission with admirable secrecy and address: and, that the conspirators might know and be assured of each other, he assembled them at *Nantz* the 1st of *February* 1560.

After having there examined their forces, and found what number they could raise, they agreed to make themselves masters of the castle and town of *Amboise*, where the king was, to seize the *Lorrain* princes, and to kill them; and that, throughout the execution of the enterprize, as well as afterwards, all possible respect and submission should be shewn to the king. The conspiracy was so well formed, and the measures so properly concerted, that it was very difficult to prevent the execution, though it was discovered by *Peter Avenelle*, an advocate of the parliament of *Paris*. *La Renaudie* lodged with him, and discovered the whole affair to him, who, though a protestant, was a man of honour and honesty, and thought the enterprize not warrantable, though it was couched under the spacious pretence of the publick good.

Avenelle therefore, purely out of a conscientious motive, discovered the conspiracy to the cardinal de *Lorraine*: but, besides this, a gentleman named *Lignieres*, and one of the conspirators, having the same scruple, addressed himself to the queen, and informed her of the whole affair: whereupon the king by letters patent

declared he gave the government of the kingdom and the sovereign command of his armies to the duke of *Guise*, in order to prevent the impending mischief in such manner as he should think proper. The duke immediately sent troops to all parts against the conspirators, who in separate bodies were approaching towards *Amboise* from all the provinces of the kingdom. The troops sent against them, not being equal in number, were defeated in many places: but, fortunately for the *Lorraine* princes, *la Renaudie* being met at the head of a squadron of cavalry, and attacked by *Pardail-
lan*, was slain, after he had with his own hand killed *Pardail-
lan*. The conspirators being informed of the death of their chief, it so intimidated them, that, though they were near enough to *Amboise*, and in a condition to execute the enterprize, they nevertheless dispersed and endeavoured to escape. All that could be taken were put to death by orders from the duke of *Guise*: some of whom were hanged, and others beheaded; but much the greatest number was drowned in the river, to prevent the horror caused by the sight of the executions, and the blood, of which the streets of *Amboise* were full.

An incredible number was therefore drowned in the night: but their bodies, by which the river was quite covered, discovered what was designed to have been concealed. The body of *la Renaudie* was quartered, and fixed upon posts without the gates of the town.

La Bigot, a domestick of *la Renaudie's*, being taken, was put to the torture, and obliged to explain a memoir written in a cypher, which contained the whole order and disposition of the conspiracy: and, as no mention was therein made of the prince of *Condé*, his torments were increased to oblige him to speak what he knew in this respect. He therefore declared that he had heard say, if fortune favoured the enterprize, the prince of *Condé* would declare himself chief of the conspirators; but that he had heard this only as a thing very uncertain. Being asked whether the conspirators had any design upon the king's life? he absolutely denied it, and declared that no one's life was aimed at, but

but those of the duke of *Guise* and the cardinal *de Lorraine*. The king after this forbad the prince of *Condé* to go out of the palace without his permission : but a few days after this prince justified himself, with great eloquence and firmness, in presence of the king, the queens, the *Lorraine* princes, and the ambassadors from foreign courts : and he concluded his defence by saying, that if any one had a mind to accuse him of infidelity to the king, he was ready to enter the lists with him in single combat, were he of the meanest and most vile condition. At these words, the duke of *Guise*, with wonderful dissimulation cried out, that it was evident the prince of *Condé* was innocent, and that he also was ready to combat against his accusers.

The duke of *Guise*, in appearance for the king's safety, but in reality for his own, established a new troop of horse-guards, the command of which he gave to *Anthony du Plessis de Richlieu*, a gentleman of *Poitou*, surnamed the *Monk*, because in reality he had been so, and had even made the ordinary vows of religion ; but, being weary of a life which but ill suited with his vicious inclinations, he had quitted the cloister to take arms, and had abandoned himself to all kinds of licentiousness and debauchery. *Richlieu* therefore having been sent to *Tours* with his guards, who were all men like himself, to wait for the king, who was soon to be there, he endeavoured to incense the inhabitants of that place by all kinds of vexations, in order to irritate them to an insurrection, that he might have a pretence to attack and plunder them : but by the patience with which they bore every thing he did, they defeated his bad design. It is thus that *de Thou* speaks of *Richlieu* in one place, and in the course of his history takes occasion to speak yet more to his disadvantage. It is believed, that this liberty which he took of writing the truth touching the actions of this man incensed the cardinal *de Richlieu* against the family of *de Thou*, and at last contributed to the ruin of the son of this historian, who was overwhelmed in the misfortune of *M. de Cinqmars*.

The prince of *Condé*, reposing no confidence in the marks of friendship shewn him by the duke of *Guise*, re-

tired from court, and went into *Guienne*, which was a safe retreat for him, because his brother the king of *Navarre* was the governor of it.

The *Coligny's* followed his example: they were three brothers; *Gaspar* admiral of *France*, *Odet* cardinal de *Chatillon* bishop of *Beauvais*, and *Francis* sieur de *Dandelot*, colonel of the *French* infantry. They had reason to fear the power of the *Lorraine* princes, having frequently opposed their pride and ambition.

About this time died *Oliver* chancellor of *France*: *Michael de l'hopital* counsellor of state was appointed to succeed him. He was a man of middling birth, but of great sense, knowledge, and exemplary virtue, and indeed in all respects the worthiest man that could have been chosen to fill that dignity.

The first time he went to the parliament, to carry some edicts from the king to be registered, he made a speech, wherein he exhorted the judges to abbreviate and even prevent suits at law, by determining upon the spot such disputes as were capable of being thus determined, and bestowed very high praises on *Christopher de Harlay*, who being counsellor of parliament, had accommodated almost all the differences that came before him in an amicable manner.

The king was young in years, feeble in body and mind, and incapable of any application. The queen his mother took care to furnish him with all kinds of diversions, to prevent him from turning his thoughts upon the government: which conduct, we shall see, she afterwards pursued in regard to *Charles IX.* The king therefore being incapable of application to any thing but his diversions, the queen mother and the duke of *Guise* governed all things at their pleasure under his name and authority. They did not even communicate to him the resolutions which they took. They judged it adviseable to hold an assembly at *Fontainebleau* of the most eminent persons in the kingdom; and they, by express letters from the king, ordered the king of *Navarre* and the prince of *Condé* to be present in it. Their design was to seize them upon their arrival: but these
princes,

princes, being apprehensive of their intentions, excused themselves. But the constable, who had also been sent for, did appear.

The assembly was held in the chamber of the queen mother: the king declared to those who composed it, that he had assembled them to consider what means might be proper to remedy the disorders which reigned in the kingdom, and therefore desired that every one would speak his sentiments with freedom and impartiality. *John de Montluc* bishop of *Valence*, a person of great eloquence, said, the best remedy of the evil caused by the diversity of opinions in religion was a general free council, wherein every one might speak his sentiments; that if this could not be obtained of the pope, the king should, after the example of the emperor *Charlemagne* and *Lewis le Debonnaire*, assemble a national council, wherein the protestant teachers should be present; and that in the mean time their persecution and sufferings should cease.

The admiral *de Coligny* presented a petition to the king in their name, wherein he requested the same things which the bishop of *Valence* had proposed: but he added, that those who had given it to him had assured him that upwards of 50000 men would sign it, if necessary. He then spoke against the numerous guards about the king's person, saying, that nothing could be more pernicious than for a prince to fear his subjects and be feared by them; and that it was wrong to inspire such a fear in a young king, who was respected and beloved by his subjects. Finally, he concluded, by insisting strongly upon the necessity of holding as soon as possible an assembly of the states. It was accordingly agreed, that it should be convoked in four or five months; that if a general council could not be obtained, the king should convoke a national one, and that in the mean time none should be persecuted upon account of religion. This determination was made on the 26th of *August* 1560.

The king convoked the assembly of the states at *Orleans*, ordered the king of *Navarre* and the prince of *Condé* to repair to it, and went thither himself, the

18th of *October*. The king of *Navarre*, the prince of *Condé*, and the cardinal of *Bourbon* their brother being arrived towards the end of the same month, the prince of *Condé* was seized and imprisoned.

The king of *Navarre* was surrounded by so many persons, and watched so closely, that it was not in his power to get away. He was again accused of the conspiracy of *Amboise*, formed, said they, against the person of the king. The chancellor *de l'Hopital*, *Christopher de Thou* president, and some counsellors of parliament were appointed his judges. But the prince refused to reply before them, saying he could not be judged but by an assembly of all the chambers of parliament, the king presided in it, accompanied by the peers of *France*. *De Thou* the historian says, his father the president advised the prince thus to refuse these delegated judges.

The king's council declared, that, if he did not reply, he should be considered as guilty of high treason. The duke of *Guise* and his brother the cardinal *de Lorraine* were resolved upon his ruin at all events; but as there was no pretence, whereby at the same time to destroy the king of *Navarre*, this greatly embarrassed them; for they foresaw that, if he was spared, he would revenge his brother's death upon them. But the marshal *de Saint Andrew* found an expedient, says *de Thou*, to overwhelm this king in the same misfortune, which was to cause him to come into the king's chamber; that the king should reproach him with having been concerned in the conspiracy; and that, as this prince would reply with great freedom and confidence, that opportunity might be taken to quarrel with him; and certain persons, placed for the purpose, should then fall upon him and stab him.

The king of *Navarre* was informed of this design; but, as it was not in his power to avoid it, he went to the king's apartment, when he was sent for, with a resolution to draw his sword, and defend himself, in case he should be attacked. He appeared with great firmness and resolution in his countenance, and at the same time with great respect to the king, whose hand he kissed when he approached him: but, whether the
king

king had not the courage to execute the resolution which had been taken, or whether the presence of the prince inspired him with other sentiments, he however did not give the signal which had been agreed on. Upon this occasion *de Thou* adds these words; "Those who have left us accounts of these things in writing (for my own part I would not affirm them to be true) also say that when the king quitted the apartment, the duke of *Guise* cried out, in a rage, O timid and cowardly prince."

In the mean time the prince of *Condé* was in danger of losing his life. The order for his execution was prepared by the duke of *Guise*, who had caused it to be signed by the commissioners; which none of them refused, except the chancellor and the president *de Thou*. A great number of gentlemen deputed to the states had also signed it at the solicitation of the duke of *Guise*: but some also had refused it; among others, *Lewis de Beuil* count *de Sancerre*. This, says *de Thou*, was the report current at that time: for my own part, continues he, I can say nothing positively about it. The order was really proposed and presented to the commissioners; but I believe it was not signed; and I remember to have heard as much said long after by my father, who was a man of truth and sincerity, and had always disapproved this rash and precipitate procedure.

However this might be, the order was prepared; but the publication of it was deferred, in order to have it executed by the authority of a privy council, and till the constable *de Montmorency*, who had been sent for, and was upon the road, should be arrived; because it was proposed to seize him, and make him suffer the same fate with the prince: but this prudent and sagacious man had stopped upon the road, in a resolution not to proceed till he should be informed of the issue of this affair.

But now the king fell sick, the evening, as it was said, of the day fixed for pronouncing and executing the decree of death upon the prince. Upon examination, it was found that he had an abscess in his head, which broke in his ear, and his life was thought in great dan-

ger. The disorder growing worse and worse, the *Lorraine* princes pressed the queen mother to hasten the death of the prince and the king of *Navarre*. But the counsels of the chancellor *de l'Hopital* and the dutchess of *Montpensier* had inspired this princess with other sentiments. These two persons perceiving the queen's sole passion was a desire of command, they represented to her, that she ought to preserve the princes and the constable, to oppose them to the ambition and power of the *Lorraine* princes, who had already deprived her of almost all authority. These remonstrances, having made an impression upon her, saved the life of the prince of *Condé*, who if the king had lived, would infallibly have lost his head; but this young prince died ten days after the first attack of his distemper, the 5th of *December*, aged about 18 years.

As he left no children, he was succeeded by *Charles* his brother.

CHARLES IX.

CHARLES was about twelve years old when he began his reign. His accession to the crown changed the face of affairs at court: the queen immediately sent to the constable to desire him to come to the king, he having occasion for his advice and counsel.

The constable immediately repaired to *Orleans*: and finding a guard placed at the gates of the city, he demanded the reason of it: and, being told that it was to take care of the king, he answered, that the king, being safe in the affections of his subjects, had no occasion for a guard in the midst of his kingdom: and ordering them immediately to retire, with a threat, in case of refusal, that he would cause them all to be hanged, they obeyed without making any farther reply.

The prince of *Condé* was released: but he declared he would never quit his prison, till he was informed on whose accusation and evidence he had been seized: and as it was more immediately from the *Guise's* that he demanded this satisfaction, they replied, that it had been done by the king's orders, which was all they knew

knew about it. Twelve days being elapsed in this manner, the prince at last quitted his prison, and went into *Picardy*, where his brother the king of *Navarre* had great possessions.

The great officers of the kingdom being assembled, they unanimously reposed the government on the king of *Navarre*, who took the title of regent. From that time, the ministers, the officers of the crown, and the governors of the provinces received no orders but from him. Yet it was the queen who governed; for the regent did nothing, till it had at first been determined in the privy council; which was according to a previous agreement between him and the queen, before he was declared regent. But they did not long preserve this good understanding; for, the queen openly attributing all authority to herself, and the king of *Navarre* being unwilling to relinquish it, they at last came to a new agreement, by which the prince was to have the title of viceroy, and the queen that of regent, and that they should do nothing but in concert and by common consent.

The body of the late king was privately conveyed to *Saint Dennis*, and his funeral performed almost entirely without ceremony, to the great shame of the *Lorraine* princes, who, having been loaded with his favours, and having even caused 30000 crowns of his revenue to be conveyed to them at the instant when he expired, had yet the ingratitude to neglect his funeral, though the care of it naturally fell upon them by their employments.

The following inscription was found written on the velvet pall which covered the coffin: *Now where is Tanneguy du Chastle?* These words were a reflection upon the duke of *Guise*; but who had wrote them could never be discovered. This *Tanneguy du Chastle* was a gentleman of an illustrious house in *Bretagne*. He had been first gentleman of the bed-chamber to *Charles VII*; and, after having done great services, to that prince, he was disgraced and obliged to retire to his estate in the country. He nevertheless preserved such an affection for his master, that being informed,

upon the death of this prince, that his funeral honours were neglected, he came from *Bretagne* to *Paris*, and in sight of the whole court expended 30000 crowns to have his obsequies performed in a magnificent manner.

Towards the end of this year died *Andrew Doria*, aged 93 years. His extreme age, having rendered him useless in regard to all civil functions, had also rendered him contemptible in the eyes of his fellow-citizens; so that, when he died, it was said of him, that he had long before ceased to live.

At the beginning of the year 1561, the king by letters patent declared, that he was satisfied in regard to the innocence of the prince of *Condé*, and that he permitted him to pursue his justification before the parliament of *Paris*. Soon after this the parliament published a decree, whereby this prince was declared innocent of all the crimes of which he had been accused, and had leave given him to proceed against his accusers, to obtain of them a satisfaction suitable to his person and dignity.

As feuds and animosities subsisted between the great persons at court upon account of religion, so the provinces were in a state of dissention from the same cause. Both parties began to call each other by the injurious names of *Papist* and *Hugonot*; the origin of which last name is not known.

Some believe it took its rise from certain deputies of the protestants coming to harangue the king in *Latin*: he who was to speak stopped short at the beginning of what he should have said, and, having repeated the words *Huc nos, huc venimus*, could proceed no farther. Others are of opinion that this name was given them at *Tours* because they assembled in the night to teach in a part of the town, where superstitious people believed king *Hugon* walked every night. *Hugon* as it was said, was a king of phantom which walked the streets, to which this name had been given.

The king of *Navarre* had been engaged in the sect of the Protestants by *Jane d'Albert* his wife. She had received the chief sectaries of *Luther*, who were come into *France*, in hatred of *Julius II*, having furnished *Ferdinand*

Ferdinand of Arragon with a pretence to seize upon *Navarre*.

In regard to queen *Catharine of Medicis*, it appears from her conduct that she had but little religion, and that she in appearance adhered to that party which seemed strongest, and most disposed to support her in power and dominion: and accordingly, she sometimes cruelly persecuted the Protestants, and sometimes favoured them: she even gave them hopes that she would embrace their religion, and demanded ministers of them, whom she heard for a considerable time, as if with desire to be instructed: this difference of behaviour she observed according to the different state of the Protestants, and according as she judged them useful or otherwise to her ambition. She acted with the same dissimulation in regard to the princes of the house of *Bourbon* and the *Guise's*: she never openly declared herself for either party, but secretly for both. She acted for or against either, according as the ruin or preservation of either might affect her interests, and, above all, she was particularly careful that discord should subsist between them, lest by an union they should prove her destruction.

In short, she made all things subservient to her passion for dominion: to this she sacrificed the repose of the state, and the honour and authority of the kings her children, whom she abandoned from their infancy to a libertine and voluptuous life, without education, by which to estrange them from the knowledge of affairs, and prevent their ever thinking of the conduct of them.

Her union with the Protestants, at the beginning of the reign of *Charles IX*, and principally with the king of *Navarre*, determined the duke of *Guise* to a reconciliation with the constable, who really had the interests of religion at heart, and thought in honour he ought to defend them. The duke of *Guise* imagined, that, when the constable should be in his interests, they might together balance, and perhaps destroy, the authority of the queen. This union was brought about by the intervention of the dutchess *de Valentinois*, and the

the marshal *de Saint Andrew*, who had great credit, and was received into it as a third.

There were then at court several ambassadors from the *German* princes, who came to congratulate the king upon his accession. The king of *Navarre* began to take measures with them to engage the Protestant princes to defend and protect the pure doctrine (thus they called the new opinions). The ambassadors represented to him, on the part of their masters, that he ought to establish, and cause to be received, the doctrine, which was, according to the confession of *Augsbουργ*, composed in part of that of *Luther*, and not of *Calvin*, which was according to the confession of the *Switzers*. The prince replied, that, this latter being already established in *France*, it must be suffered to continue in the state it was in; that it was but of small import, whether the doctrine of *Luther* or *Calvin* was followed, since they were both equally opposite to the pope in all things, and differed from each other but in very few points; and that the two confessions ought to be considered as containing the same doctrine, since they were equally contrary to the common enemy, the pope.

The continual disputes subsisting among the king's subjects touching religion, at last determined the council to appoint a conference between the bishops and the Protestant teachers. It was held at *Poissy*: the princes, the cardinals, and the greatest lords of the kingdom assisted in it, and the king himself presided. It was opened on the 9th of *September* 1561. The chancellor *de l'Hopital* declared, that the king's intention in assembling them was, from their sentiments to discover a remedy for the disorders which arose in his kingdom on the subject of religion; that they should therefore endeavour to correct such things as had need of correction; and that they should not separate, till they had put an end to all differences by a sincere reconciliation. The chancellor, in his harangue, made no scruple to give the title of *National Council* to this conference, and compared it to the provincial synods of *Orleans*, *Arles*, and *Aix*, which the emperor *Charlemagne*

magne had caused to be held. This conference continued near two months: great disputes arose upon the contested points: and a secretary was always present, to take down minutes of every thing that was said or done. The Protestant doctors (among others *Theodorus de Beza*, the most celebrated among them spoke with great freedom :) but they at last separated without coming to any conclusion, the Catholicks not being disposed to make concessions in any one article.

The king of *Spain*, being informed of the conference, shewed great indignation at it. He caused the queen to be told, that, since she abandoned the cause of religion, so as to grant conferences to the sectaries, he was resolved with all his forces to succour the nobility of the kingdom, and all true Catholicks, who with continual prayers and solicitations implored his assistance; that for this purpose he would send forces into *France*, which should make war against the hereticks, not in his name, but in that of the young king, whom he took under his protection, by defending religion. Thus the minority of two kings, and the domestick troubles, had abased the majesty of the *French* monarchy so far, as to give a foreign prince a pretension to govern therein, and conduct the affairs according to his will.

Towards the end of this year, *John Tanquerel*, bachelor in divinity of the faculty of *Paris*, in a thesis advanced this proposition: That the pope, as vicar of *Jesus Christ*, and monarch of the church, had for his subjects all the Christian princes, not only in spirituals, but temporals; and that it was in his power to deprive them of their kingdoms, states, and dignities, whenever they should be disobedient to him.

The president *Christopher de Thou*, with some counsellors of parliament, was appointed by the king to take cognizance of this assertion, so injurious to the royal majesty: and, upon their report, the parliament condemned *Tanquerel* to make honourable satisfaction, and publicly declare in the school of the college of the *Sorbonne*; all the doctors and batchelors in divinity being assembled, in presence of the president, some counsel-
lors

lors delegated by the parliament, and the king's solicitor-general, that he repented his having proposed this thesis, and acknowledged it to be false: but, *Tanquerel* being fled, the beadle of the *Sorbonne* made this declaration in the name of *Tanquerel*.

The pope, having for some time been apprehensive that a *National Council* would be assembled in *France*, had directed the continuation of the general council at *Trent*, which, having before been commenced in that city, had been interrupted by the wars of *Germany*.

It was believed, nevertheless, that his design was to protract things, and rather give hopes of a general council, than really to assemble one: but, when he received information of the conference of *Poissy*, he pressed the assembly of the council; for which purpose he sent nuncio's to the emperor and all the princes of *Germany*. The emperor advised these nuncio's to go to *Naumbourg* in *Saxony*, where all the princes of the confession of *Augsbourg* were assembled. They followed this advice; and, being arrived there, they presented to each of these princes a brief from the pope; but they refused to receive them. After this, the nuncio's, being introduced into the assembly, declared, that they were sent by the pope to exhort them to come or send their deputies to the general council, which he had convoked at *Trent*; and, therefore, that they desired to know their intentions in this respect, that they might acquaint his holiness therewith. The princes replied, that they had declared their intention touching the council to the emperor *Ferdinand*; that they did not acknowledge the pope's jurisdiction in this matter, no more than in any thing else; that, in regard to themselves, though they might be called the pope's nuncio's, they did not receive them as ambassadors, but only as persons of merit, to whom they would shew all kinds of civilities, and were ready to to do them any services in their power. Thus the nuncio's were dismissed; and they afterwards proceeded towards *Denmark*, according to the orders which they received from the pope: but the king of *Denmark* caused it to be declared to them, that he would not suffer

suffer their entrance into his dominions, being unwilling to have any concern with the pope.

Others, whom the pope had ordered to go into *England*, upon their arrival in *Flanders*, received a prohibition from queen *Elizabeth* commanding them not to cross the sea.

At the same time the pope, to shew that he was an enemy to injustice and the corruption of manners, caused cardinal *Caraffa* and his brother, who had abused their power and authority under the pontificate of their uncle *Paul IV*, to be brought to their trials: and, justice having condemned them to death, the cardinal was strangled in prison, and the duke *de Montorio* was beheaded upon the bridge of the castle of *Saint Angelo*. One of the principal crimes, for which the cardinal was condemned, was his having made the pope break the peace, and causing a war between the Christian princes.

The divisions and animosities in *France* increased daily, through the diversity of opinions in regard to religion. Though the king had by an edict ordered the Catholics and Protestants to live in peace with each other, and though he had forbid them to give each other the opprobrious names of Hugonot and Papist; nevertheless, the discord continued in all the provinces: but it was much more violent at *Paris*, where the people frequently excited seditions, maltreated the Protestants, and killed some of them: besides which, the great lords were also divided: the duke of *Guise*, the constable *de Montmorency*, and the marshal *de Saint Andrew*, being strictly united, absolutely governed the kingdom, under the authority of the queen and the king of *Navarre*: and their union in the government was called the *Triumvirate*.

The king of *Navarre*, though of the religion of the Protestants, had nevertheless declared himself against them, in order to preserve the title of viceroy. The prince of *Condé*, the *Coligny's*, and several others, being discontented at the absolute government of the *Triumvirate*, and incensed by the ill treatment of the Protestants,

testants, whose doctrine they had embraced, retired from court, and began to make the Protestants take up arms in their own defence.

It was deliberated in council, whether it would be proper to take arms against the prince of *Condé*, in order to suppress him and his partizans, before they should be able to attempt any thing? The chancellor *de l'Hopital*, who could not bear to see a civil war kindled, opposed this design. Whereupon the constable said, that the chancellor ought not to give his opinion in a council of war, and that it could be of no weight, because it concerned such affairs as were foreign to his profession, and wherein he could not have any skill. The chancellor replied, that, indeed, he did not understand war; but that he and many others knew when it was proper, for the good of the state, to make it, or to continue in peace; and that upon this occasion he spoke with understanding and knowledge of the case, in maintaining that war was contrary to the good of the state. Hereupon the deliberation was deferred to another day, when the chancellor was not called to assist in it.

The prince of *Condé* appeared in arms first, and seized the city of *Orleans*, as a place convenient by its situation to have a communication with all the provinces of the kingdom, in the month of *April* 1562. At the same time he published a manifesto, wherein he declared, that he took arms against the *Triumvirate*, for the liberty of the king, whom they kept in captivity, and for that of their consciences, which endeavours were used to restrain, by persecuting those who had embraced the reformed religion. This was the name by which the Protestants called their sect.

At the same time the treaty between the prince of *Condé*, the nobility, and the people in confederacy with him, was made publick; by which they elected this prince their chief, appointed him the lawful protector and defender of the kingdom of *France*, swore obedience to him in all things which regarded the execution of their treaty, entered into a league with him, which should continue till the king was of age to govern

vern the kingdom himself, and promised him arms, horses, provisions, money, and the assistance of their own persons, to carry on the war against the *Triumvirate*, whom they declared traitors, and guilty of high treason.

But in order to diminish the blame which they might draw upon themselves by this league, they published another, which, they said, had been made by the *Triumvirate*, whereby they acknowledged for their chief *Philip* king of *Spain*, who promised to relinquish *Navarre* to the king of that name, upon condition that he should take arms against the sectaries: but, if, on the contrary, he should side with them, the duke of *Guise* engaged to make war upon him with the king's troops and those which *Philip* obliged himself to furnish. The pope and the catholick *Swiss* cantons entered into this league, as well as the emperor, who undertook to prevent the Protestant princes of *Germany* from raising troops to succour the sectaries. *De Thou* says, that, though it was very probable this league was only pretended, its publication, nevertheless, made very strong impressions upon the minds of the people in *France*, *Germany*, and all the Northern nations, where they were so highly disposed in favour of the Protestants, that they furnished them with 100000 crowns to carry on the war; and the prince of *Condé* obtained leave to raise troops among all the Protestant princes.

An edict was now published at *Paris*, wherein it was declared, that what the prince of *Condé* had published touching their captivity was false, and had been reported to serve as a pretence for his bad designs.

The taking of *Orleans* by the Protestants was followed by that of *Roan*, *Dieppe*, *Mans*, *Tours*, *Angers*, *Lyons*, and several others; all which were taken without effusion of blood, except *Tours*, which was carried by assault: the victorious soldiers broke open the churches, and pulled down the images and statues of the saints: but the vessels of gold and silver, and the sacred ornaments, which were very numerous, were saved. The count *de la Rochefaucault* was appointed to take an inventory of them; which having done, he left it, signed

ed by himself, in the hands of the ecclesiasticks of that city, and then caused all the things therein contained to be removed to *Orleans*. We have a satire of *M. de Sancy's*, wherein this count is accused of having appropriated to himself the greatest part of the riches of the churches of *Tours*.

The war was soon kindled throughout all the provinces, and was pursued with greater animosity and cruelty, than was ever shewn between two nations in a state of the most inveterate enmity. In these civil dissensions nothing was more common than to plunder and burn, to commit rapes and murders.

But, though the queen's name, as well as the king's, appeared to the edicts which were published against the prince of *Condé*, she, nevertheless, approved his having said in his manifesto's, that the *Triumvirate* having deprived the queen of all authority, the government was not lawful: for in reality they paid little regard to her; whereat she was so dissatisfied, that she secretly favoured the prince. She wished to give him a share in the government, that he might curb the power of the *Triumvirate*: she declared, that she thought his demands were not very unreasonable: and at last she offered to enter into conference with him, for the conclusion of a peace. A conference was held accordingly, but to no purpose; because the first thing demanded by the confederates was, that the government should be taken out of the hands of the *Triumvirate*, to whom it did not belong, and that they should be obliged to retire from court. As this demand could not be complied with, the war, which had been suspended by a truce, was renewed on both sides.

The *Triumvirate* was supported by the names of the king, the queen, the king of *Navarre*, and the authority of the parliament of *Paris*.

The prince of *Condé*, besides the officers of the army, was joined by the greatest part of the nobility: some, because they were attached to the doctrine of the Protestants; and these, as well as the populace,

lace, acted with sincerity: others, because they were enemies to the princes of the house of *Guise*: religion served these, as well as the prince of *Condé*, only for a pretence: and by this means they had the whole Catholick party at their devotion. It appears from some curious memoirs of the transactions of these times, that the prince of *Condé* told one of his friends, as a secret, that as for religions, he looked upon both to be equally good, and that he had embraced that of the Protestants, only because the duke of *Guise* was attached to that of the Papists.

An admirable discipline was at first observed in the Protestant troops, principally by the care of *d'Andelot*, colonel of the *French* infantry: but licentiousness afterwards broke in among them, and their soldiers exercised the same cruelties upon the Catholics, which the Catholics exercised upon the Protestants, wherever they happened to be the strongest. It must, indeed, be confessed, that the excesses on both sides were reciprocal.

These troubles did not prevent some of the *French* prelates from going, with the cardinal *de Lorraine*, to the council of *Trent*. *Claudius Ferdinand Quignonez* count *de Luna*, ambassador from the king of *Spain*, refused to cede the precedence to the ambassador of *France*, and declared that he would not enter the council, till his rank therein should be determined.

Cardinal *Hercules de Gonzago*, who presided in the council in the pope's name, proposed giving the *Spaniard* a distinct seat, out of the rank of ambassadors; and to this the count *de Luna* consented; for he did not so much desire the precedence, as that the ambassador of *France* might not be placed above him: but *de Lansac* the king's ambassador, rejected this expedient, and said, that to preserve his master that rank which he had always possessed, it was not sufficient that his ambassador was placed immediately below that of the emperor; but that he should also be placed above that of *Spain*, agreeable to the custom which had always been

been observed; and that, if any thing contrary to this was done, he would immediately depart, and take the *French* bishops away with him. The firmness of *Lansac*, says *de Thou*, would have obliged the pope's legates to refuse the *Spaniard* any other rank, than that which belonged to him, after the ambassador of *France*, had not the cardinal *de Lorraine's* complaisance for the king of *Spain*, forced this ambassador to comply with what had been proposed in favour of *Spain*: this cardinal approved the expedient, insisted that the king's ambassadors ought also to approve it, and protested to them, that if they retired, he would prevent their taking with them the bishops of *France*, and would retain them to assist in the council.

About this time *Cosmo* duke of *Florence* lost two of his children in the most strange and deplorable manner. *John* the eldest was a cardinal, and was a young prince of a mild and gentle temper: *Garcias* the younger, was brutal and cruel: two such contrary dispositions had produced a very strong aversion between them. One day when they were hunting together, and by accident found themselves alone, and separated from all their attendants, *Garcias* killed his brother by stabbing him with a poinard, and then rejoined his retinue, without appearing in the least moved by the crime he had committed.

The body of the dead prince being found, *Garcias* dissembled like a man who had long been accustomed to such deeds; but his father suspected the truth: he however did not discover his suspicions, but caused it to be declared that his son had died of a distemper which was very popular at that time. The next day he obliged *Garcias* to follow him to the place where the body of the dead prince was laid, and commanded him to touch it, which having done, blood immediately issued from the wound: *Behold*, said the unfortunate father, *behold the blood of thy brother, which accuses thee, and calls for justice from God and myself.* *Garcias* upon this

this confessed his crime, excusing himself in that his brother had begun the quarrel: but the father, instead of admitting his excuses, told him, that he was obliged to do justice upon him, and that he ought to receive patiently that punishment which his crime justly required: saying these words, he killed him with the same poinard, with which he had assassinated his brother.

The queen of *England*, interesting herself in the cause of the Protestants, sent them six thousand *English*, upon condition that three thousand of them should be placed in *Havre de Grace*, to keep it in the king's name, till such time as his faithful subjects, who were persecuted upon account of their religion, should be reinstated in his favour: part of the other three thousand was placed in *Roan*; soon after which the king of *Navarre* commanded the king's troops to besiege the place, which was accordingly begun on the 22d of *September* 1562. Its governor, the count *de Montgomery*, made a very good defence for about one month. After some days siege the king of *Navarre* received a wound by a musket-shot in the shoulder. The wound was not dangerous; but he inflamed it, and rendered it mortal, by his irregular manner of living with a young woman belonging to the queen, of whom he was passionately fond. The queen not only suffered this amour, but even encouraged it, being glad, by an amusement of this nature, to prevent the prince from applying himself wholly to the government: besides that, by this means she hoped to govern him more absolutely.

At last *Roan* was taken by assault; and the king of *Navarre* entered it through the breach in his bed, which was borne by *Switzers*. Before the assault *Montgomery* had caused a small galley to be prepared for himself, and a number of vessels for the *English*: he fought himself to the last moment; but, when he found the place was forced, he retreated on board his galley, and fled with the *English* to *Havre de Grace*.

The king of *Navarre*, finding that his wound grew worse, resolved to be conveyed by water to *Saint Maur*,
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a pleasant villa two leagues from *Paris*, where the air is extremely healthful : but he died in the passage in the boat which carried him ; being no more than 24 years of age : some hours before his death he received the sacrament, according to the antient custom of the church ; but he declared, that, if God had restored him to his health, he would have publickly embraced the confession of *Augsbourg*.

After the taking of *Roan*, the prince of *Condé* approached *Paris* at the head of his troops ; and *Coligny*, who commanded the van-guard, attacked the suburbs of *Saint Victor* ; which so terrified the *Parisians*, that they were upon the point of abandoning the city. The first president, *Giles le Maitre*, who was then sick, judging by the tumult which he heard, that the hugonots were masters of *Paris*, died of the meer fright. He was succeeded in his post by *Christopher de Thou*.

But the militia in the suburbs, not being seized with such a panick as the citizens, repulsed the enemy, and obliged them to retire. They took the road to *Normandy*, and were pursued by the constable, who, coming up with them near *Dreux*, gave them battle. The fortune of this engagement was uncommon. The generals of both parties were taken prisoners ; the constable being taken first. Upon which the duke of *Guise*, who was in the army without any command, at the head only of a company of light horse (for he rather chose this than not to command in chief) being either moved by the opportunity, or pressed by the necessity, took the post of general, recovered the fortune of the day, which the king's troops had almost lost, vigorously charged the *Germans*, who were the principal force of the enemy's army, made a great slaughter among them, and finally obtained the victory.

It was in the rout which followed this defeat that the prince of *Condé* was taken prisoner by *Henry de Montmorency-Danville*, the constable's eldest son. The marshal de *Saint Andrew*, after having been taken prisoner, was killed by a pistol-shot in the head, by *Mezieres*, a gentleman who had been his domestick, and whom he had

had treated with great injustice and indignity. The remains of the vanquished army did not take to flight, but retired in good order, under the command of *Coligny*, and took their cannon with them from off the field of battle. This defeat cost the Protestants about 6000 men.

The constable was carried to *Orleans*, and the prince of *Condé* into the camp of the king's troops, where the duke of *Guise* received him with the greatest respect, and served him at supper. The baggage not being arrived that evening, the duke of *Guise* was the only person who had a bed (because he took care that his should always accompany him; which he offered to the prince of *Condé*, who accepted it only upon condition that the duke should lie with him in it. Thus fortune brought together, at the same table, and in the same bed, two mortal enemies, who had been long labouring to effect each other's ruin.

The taking of the constable was advantageous to the duke of *Guise*; for the king gave him the command of the armies, and sent him to besiege *Orleans*. *Coligny*, to whom the Protestants had given the sovereign command since the taking of the prince of *Condé*, after having well supplied this place with every thing necessary to maintain a siege, quitted it, to take the field, and raise forces.

One day, the duke of *Guise* being upon his return to his tent from visiting the works, and discoursing with a person whom the queen had sent to him, *Polrot*, a Protestant gentleman, who waited his coming through a certain passage in an obscure place, fired a pistol, and mortally wounded him; after which he fled with such swiftness, that he was immediately out of sight: but as he wandered about all night without knowing whether he went, he found himself the next morning so near the camp, that he could not avoid it, not only because his horse was tired, but because he was himself disturbed and troubled in mind by the crime he had committed. He was therefore taken, and, being questioned in presence of the queen, he answered like one who,

who, from a disordered mind, knew not what he said ; sometimes declaring that he had committed this action at the solicitation of *Coligny*, *Saubize*, and *Beza* ; sometimes affirming that he had done it of himself, without being instigated by any one ; and sometimes saying things contradictory to both these.

As soon as *Coligny* was informed of *Poltrot's* declaration, he wrote to the queen, earnestly praying her to cause strict inquiry to be made into the truth, and command the judges to use every means in their power to get authentick proofs, either of the crime of which he was accused, or of his innocence, offering to suffer the severest punishment, if he was found guilty. The duke of *Guise*, in the mean time, died, six days after he had received the wound. He was esteemed one of the greatest men of his time : but he is blamed as being too ambitious, and for having endeavoured to raise himself by violent means ; to which he was induced more by the turbulent spirit of his brother the cardinal, than by his own, which rather inclined to gentleness and quiet.

Some days after *Poltrot* was condemned at *Paris* to suffer the same punishment which is inflicted on criminals of the first rank, when found guilty of high treason ; which was, to be torn in pieces by four horses. Before the execution he was put to the rack, and at first denied that *Coligny*, *Soubize*, and *Beza*, were privy to his crime ; and then he said *Coligny* alone was acquainted with it. But he spoke like a distracted person in every thing he said : and even in the very instant of his punishment he both accused and vindicated *Coligny* and *d'Andelot*, and died at last without saying any thing that could be depended on.

The great and universally-acknowledged probity of the admiral *de Coligny* did not suffer the publick to believe he had any concern in so detestable an action, nor even that he had the least knowledge of it. But the princes of the house of *Guise* were of a different opinion ; for they always looked upon him as the author of this murder.

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As the queen ardently wished for peace, and as she had been labouring to effect it for some time, she, after the death of the duke of *Guise*, redoubled her endeavours herein: but, fearing lest the prince of *Condé* and the constable should unite and deprive her of the government, she formed a design, the absurdity of which was quite worthy of the capricious and variable temper of a woman, who was always dubious and incapable of making a wise resolution: she resolved to send for a foreign prince into *France*, who might depend upon her, and direct Affairs according to her fancy: with this view, she cast her eyes upon *Christopher* duke of *Wirtemberg*, and sent to acquaint him, that, since the death of the king of *Navarre* and the duke of *Guise*, there being no one in *France* sufficiently considerable by his birth and reputation, on whom the *French* might repose the care of their affairs, she therefore desired him to come and take the government of the kingdom upon him, and bring with him 3000 men, which the king would pay.

The duke of *Wirtemberg*, having taken four days to consider the proposal, rejected it, as not thinking himself of sufficient strength to support it. His answer to it was, that all he could do for the service of *France* was to pray Heaven would give it peace.

At last, after several conferences, the queen came to an agreement with the prince of *Condé*, and a peace was concluded the 12th of *March*. The protestants were granted the liberty of assembling publicly for the exercise of their religion; and the king declared he looked upon them as his good and faithful subjects, who had done nothing in the preceding war but with a good intention.

The most considerable among them were greatly dissatisfied at this peace, not thinking it advantageous enough to them, or sufficiently secure. It continued nevertheless for some time; for the queen, by means of one of her maids of honour, named *Limeuil*, found means to gain an ascendant over the prince of *Condé*. Perceiving that the prince had a passion for her, she commanded her to engage him still more by

an entire complaisance, in order by this means to discover all his designs, and be able to elude or defeat them, according as she should judge proper. *Eleonora de Roye*, wife of the prince of *Condé*, was so sensibly affected to see him engaged in this amour, that she died of the chagrin which it caused her. *Limeuil* carried her complaisance for the prince so far as to prove with child by him ; and, her condition becoming visible, the queen put her away, after having given her a severe reprimand ; to which she replied, that she had only obeyed her majesty's orders, and followed her example.

After the loss of *Limeuil*, the prince paid his addresses to *Margaret de Lustrac*, widow of the marshal of *Saint Andrew*, a young lady of great beauty, high birth, and vast fortune. She, flattering herself that the prince would marry her, received his addresses favourably, and, in the course of them, made him a present of the castle and lands of *Valery*, which are still possessed by the house of *Condé* : but her hopes were disappointed ; for the prince espoused *Frances* of *Orleans*, sister to the duke of *Longueville*.

The *English* refusing, after the conclusion of the peace, to quit *Havre de Grace*, the king declared war against queen *Elizabeth*. The constable besieged that place, and took it. *Nicholas du Plessis de Richlieu*, who commanded a Regiment at this siege, was slain. He was a general celebrated for his courage, prudence, and moderation, and was surnamed the *Sage*, to distinguish him from his uncle, who had the reputation of being both a fool and a rogue.

The queen, to deprive the prince of *Condé* and the constable of all hopes of any share in the government, and that she might herself be possessed of all authority, in the king's name, caused him to be declared major, according to the ordinance of *Charles V.* which declares the king's major at the age of fourteen years. The court was then at *Roan* : the king went to the parliament of that place, declared himself major, and, having caused the edict of his majority to be therein published and registered, he sent

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it to the parliament of *Paris* to be registered there also.

But the parliament of *Paris* refused to do this, and deputed *Christopher de Thou* the first president, with some others, to the king, to remonstrate to his majesty, that it was contrary to custom for an edict to be published in any parliament, before it had been so in that of *Paris*, which was the court of peers, and had the authority of the states of the kingdom. The king answered them with great mildness and affection, but concluded with saying, that it was their duty to obey his orders; that he forbade them to treat with him, as they had done while he was in his minority, or to concern themselves in things, the knowledge of which did not belong to them; that they had been established by the kings his predecessors only to administer justice to particulars, agreeable to the laws and customs; that therefore they should leave the care of the state to the king, and no longer assume the title of tutors to the kings, defenders of the kingdom, or protectors of *Paris*.

The deputies having made their report, the parliament deliberated thereupon, and the voices being equally divided, for and against the registry, no decree was issued; but *Peter Segulier* president à *Mortier*, and *Francis Dormy* president of the inquests, were sent to the king, to acquaint him with this division of opinions, and make fresh remonstrances. Whereupon the queen caused an order of council to be published (which *de Thou* calls very extraordinary) by which the king revoked as null what had been done by the parliament of *Paris* touching the publication of the edict of his majority, as having been done by judges to whom the knowledge of affairs of state did not belong. He moreover directed that this edict of his majority should be registered by the parliament without opposition and without remonstrances, and enjoined all the presidents and counsellors to be present at this publication, on pain of being suspended the exercise of their employments. The parliament was commanded never to deliberate, nor to do any thing,

in affairs which concerned the government of the state.

Soon after the king, by a declaration dated the 2d of *September*, commanded that no new books should be printed, till they had first been examined and approved by persons appointed by him for that purpose, under pain of death and confiscation. This edict was issued not only to restrain the liberty of the booksellers, who printed all sorts of books and libels, but also to check the fury of the partizans of the house of *Guise*, and those of admiral *Coligny*, who by printed libels abused each other in the most injurious manner.

At the conclusion of this year died *Charles de Cesse de Brissac*, marshal of *France*, aged 56 years. Both *French* and foreigners have equally bestowed this praise upon him, that he surpassed all the *French* generals that ever conducted a war in *Italy*. *Henry de Montmorency d'Andelot*, was made a marshal in his place.

In the mean time the council of *Trent* continued; and the complaisance of the cardinal de *Lorraine*, who preferred the good graces of the pope and the king of *Spain* to the interests of *France*, caused the *Spaniards* daily to make new enterprizes against the honour and dignity of the crown; and in this they were favoured by the pope's legates, as they were sure of protection and approbation from this cardinal, who ought to have better maintained the rights of the king his master.

The 29th of *June*, a day consecrated to the memory of *Saint Peter*, the cardinals, the bishops, and the ambassadors from foreign princes, assisting at high mass, a chair was not only given to the ambassador of *Spain* among the cardinals, but preparations were also made to give him the infense, and to bring him the *Paix* to kiss, at the same time when the like ceremony should be paid to the ambassadors of *France*, and for this purpose two censers and two *Paix*'s were held ready. The novelty of this proceeding caused such a great disorder in the assembly, that the *Credo*, which

which was then chanting, was interrupted. The ambassadors of *France* complained loudly of the injury the pope's legates did the king in thus placing his ambassadors upon an equality with those of *Spain*.

At last, to appease the tumult, the incense and the *Paix* were denied to both of them. But the ambassadors, instead of regarding this as a satisfaction, received it as an injury; and the sieur de *Faur de Pi-brac*, one of them, declared, that he protested, not against the council, which was not free, nor against the legates, who were only the executors of the unjust will of their master, but against *Pius IV*, who called himself pope, and was not so, seeing his creation was rendered void by an infamous traffick in Simony; that he appealed from every thing which might hereafter be done in the assembly to the first pope lawfully elected, and to a future, free and legal council. *De Thou* observes, that this protestation was never revoked.

The king, being justly offended by these causes of discontent given him by the council, commanded his ambassadors to retire, which they did, and went to *Venice*. At the same time the cardinal, with the king's permission, went to *Rome*, apparently to accommodate matters with the pope; but he was too much devoted to the court of *Rome* and the king of *Spain* to serve his master with sincerity.

After the ambassadors of *France* had retired, the council passed a decree contrary to the ordinance which *Henry II* had published against clandestine marriages. The fathers declared, that, though the church had always disapproved and prohibited clandestine marriages, they nevertheless considered them as true and valid; and that the council excommunicated whoever should say those marriages were null, which were voluntarily contracted, with a full and free consent, between the parties, though without the consent of the parents.

A *French* prelate in the council beginning to speak against the disorders of the court of *Rome*, an *Italian* bishop, with an impertinent rally, said also, *Gal-*

lus cantat, audiamus : to which the *French* bishop replied, *Utinam ad Galli cantum Petrus resipiscat !*

The cardinal *de Lorraine*, having done nothing at *Rome*, returned to *Trent*, to assist in the conclusion of the council, which the pope desired above all things, because the assembly was extremely chargeable to him. It was therefore terminated, and this cardinal was nominated to make the acclamations customary at the conclusion of councils, wherein the emperor is first named, and then all christian kings, according to their rank. That of *France* had always been named first after the emperor ; but the cardinal *de Lorraine*, not to shock the pretensions of the king of *Spain*, named no king, but confounded them altogether, by collectively saying, *The Kings* ; and, when, upon his return into *France*, he was reproached for his behaviour, he alledged in excuse, that he had done it to preserve peace between the two kings, and for the good of Christianity.

The peace which had been granted the Protestants, had highly incensed the pope ; and, believing it had been done at the instigation of some bishops suspected of favouring the new doctrines, he resolved to attack them, and for this purpose gave power to the inquisitors general to cite all hereticks, their partizans, and those suspected of heresy, whether bishops, archbishops, or cardinals, to appear at *Rome* ; without observing any other form of procedure, than to affix their decree upon the gates of the palace of the inquisition. They immediately cited some of the bishops of *France* ; among others, the cardinal *de Chatillon* bishop of *Beauvais*, *John Gillard* bishop of *Chartres*, who had openly embraced the religion of the Protestants, and *John de Montluc* bishop of *Valence*, who was suspected of it. And finally, the pope himself, by a brief, cited *Jane d'Albert* queen of *Navarre*, widow of *Antony of Bourbon* ; declaring in the brief, that, if she did not appear in six months, he proscribed her as guilty of a contempt, divested her of the royal dignity, and gave her dominions to whomsoever should first take possession of them.

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This procedure was so highly disapproved at the court of *France*, that the king ordered *Henry Clutin d'Oysel*, his ambassador, to complain of it to the pope, and remonstrate to him, that if he did not revoke his brief, and annul the decree of the Inquisition, the methods usually practised in opposition to the enterprizes of the court of *Rome* would be used in *France*. *D'Oysel*, who was zealous and faithful in the service of his master, executed his orders with such success, that the proceedings commenced against the bishops of *France* ceased, and the sentence pronounced against the queen of *Navarre* was revoked.

The year 1564 is memorable for the king's edict, directing the year to begin for the future from the first day of the month of *January*; whereas before it had always commenced at *Easter*: and this new regulation was ordered to be observed in all publick transactions.

Soon after the emperor *Ferdinand*, aged 61 years, died. He was a prince commendable for his prudence, justice, liberality, and sweetness of temper. He left fifteen children (four sons and eleven daughters) and was succeeded in the empire by his son *Maximilian II.* who had before been elected king of the *Romans*.

Calvin died also at *Geneva*. He was a man of lively wit and great eloquence, and was esteemed among the protestants of his time as the most excellent of their teachers. He was fifty-six years of age, of which he had passed twenty three in teaching divinity at *Geneva*.

About the same time died at *Rome* *Michael-Angelo-Buonaroti*, who was so excellent in painting, sculpture, and architecture, that no one surpassed him in any of these three arts, excepting only *Raphael Urbino*, who gained the preference in painting; but he lived so short a time, that he might rather be said only to appear at *Rome*; whereas *Michael Angelo* lived ninety years, and constantly worked to the day of his death.

The king of *Spain* judged, that when he should have succeeded in placing himself upon an equality with the king of *France*, it would not be impossible to gain the preference from the pope. He pressed *Pius IV.* to decide the difference subsisting between the two crowns on this account; and solicited him, by his ambassadors, to give it in his favour; that is to say, to give the ambassador of *Spain* the first rank after that of the emperor. The pope was well disposed towards *Philip*; but the king's right was too well-established to be set aside; for which reason he refused to decide the difference. The king of *Spain*, being offended at his refusal, thought to compel the pope to comply with his request by making some attempt upon the authority of the holy see. Accordingly, he caused many things to be published, and suffered some of them to be put in execution, in *Spain*, whereby the pope's authority was greatly diminished, hoping by this means to bring him to a compliance with his desires: but this procedure produced an effect quite contrary to *Philip's* intention; for it incensed the pope: and *d'Oysel*, the king's ambassador, taking advantage of the opportunity, prevailed upon *Pius IV.* to declare himself in favour of *France*; so that, on the day of Pentecost, the pope being in the chapel, *d'Oysel* had the first place after the ambassador of the emperor; and *Lewis de Requesins* grand commander of *Castille*, the ambassador of *Spain*, having demanded to be, at least, placed apart, as the ambassador of his master had been in the council of *Trent*, the pope, in compliance with the remonstrances and protestations of *d'Oysel*, answered the *Spaniard*, that there was no other place for him, than that, which his predecessors had always occupied, after the ambassador of *France*.

Requesins protested against the invalidity and injustice of this judgment, as having been given without a previous consideration of the case, and without acquainting the parties. The pope replied, that it was unnecessary to acquaint any body, in a matter wherein no judgment was required, nor any innovation committed;

committed ; but only to continue to observe what had hitherto always been observed ; and that, the most Christian king having always been in possession of the first place at the court of *Rome*, it would be an innovation to deprive him of it. *Philip*, being offended at seeing himself disappointed in his pretensions, recalled his ambassador.

The pope imagined, that, after having thus declared himself for the king, he might demand the council of *Trent* to be published in *France*. The king promised to observe every thing the council had directed ; but said, that to undertake the publication of it in *France*, in its present state of tumult and division, would be both difficult and dangerous.

The pope made the same demand of the emperor in regard to *Germany*, and received the same reply. The emperor pressed him strongly, in order to restore the union of the faith, to permit the clergy to marry, and have communion in the two kinds, the council having decided nothing thereupon. He alledged many very strong reasons to persuade him to it, which may be seen at the end of the thirty-sixth book of *de Thou*. The pope and the cardinals thought them so solid, and were so far convinced by them, that they were upon the point of granting his request : but the affair was deferred to a future consideration ; and in the interim the pope died, without having determined any thing.

There were continual conferences between the ministers of *France* and *Spain* upon the subject of religion, and the means to destroy the new sect. At last the queen, under pretence of making the king visit the provinces of his kingdom, carried him upon the frontiers of *Spain* ; where, together with the queen of *Spain*, who was the king's sister, she was to meet and confer with the principal ministers of *Philip*.

During this expedition, an important affair happened at *Paris*, between *Francis de Montmorency*, governor of that city and the *Isle of France*, and the cardinal *de Lorraine*. Since the peace granted to the Protestants, all persons, by the king's edicts, had

been forbid to go armed in any part of the kingdom, and the governors of the provinces had been directed to take care that these orders were observed. The cardinal *de Lorraine*, upon his return from the council of *Trent*, had obtained leave from the king to have guards for his person, alledging that he had received information that his enemies had a design upon his life. He entered the *Isle of France*, accompanied by a great number of persons in arms, and approached *Paris*, with a resolution to enter it with his guards, without acquainting the governor with the permission which he had obtained from the king. *Montmorency*, who knew the cardinal's temper, thought he acted thus to insult and shew his contempt of him; and therefore he resolved to oppose him by force; but, nevertheless, as he was exact in every thing, and a great observer of the forms of justice, he determined, first to warn him to dismiss his guards, as being contrary to the king's edicts: but, not thinking proper to send this message directly from himself, he went to the parliament, and declared, that the king had enjoined him to prevent any company of persons armed from approaching *Paris*; that he had been informed there were certain armed persons, who, despising his majesty's authority, and that of his governors, designed to enter *Paris* with their arms; that he was resolved to use all his forces, to prevent the king's authority, and that of the legal magistrate, from being violated by the temerity of particular persons; and that he had determined to inform the parliament of it, that it might interpose its authority to reduce these people to their duty, if they could not be reduced to it by force.

The cardinal, being informed of *Montmorency's* design, did not hesitate what to do: and, though he was advised to send a copy of the king's permission to the governor, he rejected it, and entered *Paris* with his company, thinking they would not have the boldness to attack him in the sight of the people, who favoured his house, and hated the *Montmorency's*, because of the alliance between them and the house of *Coligny*.

Coligny. But he was scarce got into the street of *Saint Dennis*, when he was met by *Montmorency*, who came accompanied by many persons of character, and immediately attacked those who marched before the cardinal; some of whom were killed, and the others, being terrified, took to flight: the cardinal, and his nephew the young duke of *Guise*, took refuge in a shop; and *Montmorency*, being satisfied with having by fear humbled the pride of a man who despised the king (thus he expressed himself) commanded the soldiers to desist, and not pursue those who had fled.

The next day the parliament sent to tell the cardinal, that it would be adviseable for him to quit *Paris*, to avoid a greater evil. He shewed the deputies of this body, who came to give him this caution, the permission which he had obtained from the king. Whereupon the parliament sent to desire the governor to permit the cardinal to go out of *Paris* in arms, agreeable to a permission which he had from the king. *Montmorency* replied, that, if the cardinal would send a true copy of this permission, and would say what number of armed persons he should take with him, he would permit him to go freely throughout the *Isle of France*; but that, if he did otherwise, he was resolved to use the means in his power to detain the cardinal, or any body else, within the rules prescribed by the laws, and learn him to live in obedience to the king and his governors. The next day the cardinal quitted the city, accompanied only by his brother the duke d'*Aumale*, and his nephew the duke of *Guise*, and retired into *Champagne*.

The conduct of *Montmorency* was blamed upon this occasion: he ought, said they, either not to have incensed the princes of *Guise* by this insult, or else to have destroyed them, by causing them to be killed, which he might easily have done. The prince of *Condé* was of this opinion, - and said, that, if what *Montmorency* had done was in jest, he had carried it too far, and, if in earnest, not far enough.

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It was also during this absence of the king, who was upon the frontiers of the kingdom, that a celebrated cause touching the *Jesuits* was pleaded in the parliament of *Paris*. The *Jesuits* had been received in *France* under the reign of *Henry II.* who had permitted them by letters patent to establish themselves in any of the towns in his dominions, and live therein according to the rules of their institution, and build themselves churches for their service.

Some time after *William du Prat* bishop of *Clermont*, son of the chancellor, gave them the college of *Clermont* at *Paris*, in which they resided, and from thence were called, *The priests and scholars of the college of Clermont*. The bishop of *Paris*, and the faculty of theology, opposed their establishment, and treated as presumptuous their name of *Jesuits*, or *society of the name of Jesus*, which these religious assumed to themselves, as if they alone composed the church, or, as if this name was more suitable to them than any other society. The affair being brought before the prelates assembled at *Poissy* to confer with the Protestants on the subject of religion, their society was authorized and approved, upon condition it should not take the name of *Jesuits*, or of the society of *Jesus*. They afterwards, of their own accord, opened the college of *Clermont*, and therein began to teach youth.

The university opposed this enterprize, and presented a request to parliament, demanding they should not be permitted to teach. The cause was pleaded, and the *Jesuits* gained it. This whole affair is well related in the thirty-seventh book of *de Thou*, and, for the particular circumstances which it contains, is worthy of perusal.

The king being informed that his sister, the queen of *Spain*, was set out for *France*, he went to *Bayonne* to receive her and confer with the ministers of *Spain*, who accompanied her. The pope had engaged the queen mother in this conference, and had also pressed the king of *Spain* to be present in it: but this prince, who took no pleasure in making such tours, content-

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ed himself with sending the queen his wife, accompanied by the duke of *Alba* and some other ministers, whom he thought capable of making the king and queen take the necessary resolution for the ruin of the Protestants.

During the queen of *Spain's* stay at *Bayonne*, the queen mother of *France* was almost continually in secret conference with the duke of *Alba*, to whom, to keep the affair secret, she repaired every night through a wooden gallery, made on purpose, which led from her apartment to the duke's. It is believed, that in these conferences the design was formed to massacre all the protestants, in pursuance of the counsel of this duke, who said it was the opinion of *Philip* his master, that the most considerable of their chiefs should first be cut off, and then all the rest of the Protestants might be killed throughout the kingdom. It is also believed, that the prince of *Condé* and the *Coligny's*, being informed by their friends of these sanguinary resolutions, it occasioned them ever after to keep themselves so carefully upon their guard, that they were not surprized till seven years after.

While these affairs passed in *France*, the *Turks* besieged *Malta* with the greatest naval and military preparations they had ever raised before. The army was commanded by the bashaw *Mustapha*, and the fleet by the corsair *Dragut*. The assaults given by these infidels with the most dreadful fury were repuled with the most incredible valour: and after three months siege, *Dragut* being slain, and the *Turks* having lost upwards of 20000 men, *Mustapha* was compelled to raise the siege, finding himself no longer able to support it. The succours sent by the king of *Spain*, after delays which cost the lives of many brave men, and almost the loss of the place, at last arrived. The grand master *de la Valette*, by his courage and vigilance, had the glory of preserving it.

As the *Turkish* batteries had almost ruined the city of *Malta*, a new one was built, which, by a decree passed in a council of the knights, was named *La Valette*, from the name of the grand master.

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A very ample and circumstantial account of this siege is given by *de Thou* at the beginning of his thirty-eighth book, and is well worthy of perusal.

The Year 1556 commenced with the election of pope *Pius V.* *Pius IV.* dying the 8th of *Detember* preceding, cardinal *Alexandrin*, a religious *Dominican*, was elected in this place the 7th of *January*. He was of obscure birth, and was named *Ghislieri*; but he was called cardinal *Alexandrin*, because he was born in the territory of *Alexandria de la Paille*. He was a man of great piety, but, having no experience in affairs, was but ill qualified to support so great a dignity. The historians of his time say of him, that he had all the faults of a bigot, an intemperate and ungoverned zeal, an unrelenting severity, an invincible obstinacy, a lively and eternal sense of injuries; and at the same time none of the virtues requisite and necessary in such a prince as the pope. Yet it is not many years since he was placed among the number of the saints.

At the beginning of his pontificate he ordered all prostitute women either to quit *Rome*, or renounce their infamous course of life. The council represented to him, that, if this decree was executed, the revenue of the apostolick chamber would be considerably deminished thereby: because these women by a great tribute purchased the liberty of living in debauchery. To this the pope, with a stern countenance, replied, that if his orders were not obeyed, he would leave *Rome* himself, and transport the holy see elsewhere. Nevertheless, it being represented to him, that, if the men were deprived of this convenience, it was to be feared, it might instigate them to the commission of more detestable crimes, he at last consented, and contented himself with confining the residence of publick women to a particular street, and ordering them not to appear in coaches, on pain of corporal punishment; hoping that the shame of this, would determine many of them to change their course of life.

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In the mean time very strict search was making in the *Low Countries* after all who were suspected upon account of religion : and those who were found to have embraced the errors of the Protestants were punished with the utmost rigour. *Antony Perronet* cardinal *de Granville*, whom the king of *Spain* had appointed principal counsellor to the governess of the *Low Countries*, treated them with a rigour which proceeded even to cruelty. This cardinal was of mean extraction in the county of *Burgundy*, and had raised himself to so high a rank by his genius and ability in the management of the most important affairs, in a manner agreeable to the desires and intentions of the king his master. He rendered himself odious to the nobility and people of the *Low Countries* by his severity to the Protestants, and by establishing the tribunal of the Inquisition, which they thought insupportable.

The hatred conceived against him was so great, that *William* of *Nassau* prince of *Orange*, governor of *Holland*, *Zealand*, and *Friseland*, *Philip de Montmorency* count *de Horn*, and the count *d'Egmont* governor of *Flanders*, who were the three greatest lords in the *Low Countries*, both by their birth and fortunes, wrote to *Philip*, acquainting him, that the only means to pacify all troubles, was to remove the cardinal from the government.

The chief among the Protestants, being assembled at *Brussels*, went in a body to the palace of the governess, to present her a request : and, though the greater number of them were the most considerable inhabitants of the country, they were, nevertheless, all cloathed in plain grey cloth, having little wooden crosses fastened to their hats, and a gold medal depending from their necks, on one side of which was the portrait of *Philip*, and on the reverse a purse suspended between two united hands, as a mark of fidelity, with these words, *Faithful to the king as far as the Purse*.

It is not certainly known what gave occasion to their appearing in this manner : it is with probability
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said, that, having before presented themselves several times, and the governers having been frighted at their numbers, the count *de Barlaimond*, who was near her, had told her they were only a company of Beggars, who, instead of being feared, were to be despised; and that, after this, they affected to bear the name of beggars, and take the ensigns of beggary, as a symbol of their confederacy. Their request was, that they might have the liberty of publicly professing their religion: the counts *d'Egmont* and *de Horn* were of opinion, that it would be more adviseable to grant them this request, in order to prevent the great disorders which they might cause in the state. The Protestants being informed, that these two lords had been of this opinion, and finding them more moderate than those who had a share in the government, they, by a second request, prayed *Margaret* to receive into her council the prince of *Orange* and the two counts. This demand rendered these lords suspected, and finally cost the lives of the two last, as we shall see hereafter.

The Protestants, being incensed at not having their demands granted, took arms, seized several towns, ravaged and overspread the country, burnt the churches, and exercised all kinds of violences upon the Catholics.

The governers being apprehensive of a general revolt in the *Low Countries*, treated with the confederates, granted them the liberty of publicly professing their religion, and promised them to discontinue the inquisition, till the king should determine otherwise. But, *Philip* having sent to acquaint her that he would absolutely have the new religion abolished, she recommenced the persecution of those who had embraced it; who were now less formidable, having in confidence of the treaty, quitted their arms, and retired, every one to their own home.

At last in the year 1567, *Philip*, not finding that *Margaret* acted with sufficient vigour against the Protestants, sent the duke of *Alba*, a man of a violent and sanguinary temper, to succeed her in the government

ment of the *Low Countries*. When it was known that this new governor came with an army of *Spaniards*, the prince of *Orange*, and the counts *d'Egmont* and *de Horn*, had a conference together upon their own affairs: the first represented, that the design of the *Spaniards* was to subject the *Low Countries* to a tyrannical government; that to succeed in this design, they would think it necessary to destroy the great lords; and that most certainly they would not fail to charge them with crimes which they had not so much as thought of; that it was his opinion, they ought to prevent the danger, and in concert make use of the necessary means to secure themselves against the violence, which, he foresaw, would be used against them.

The count *de Horn* approved the sentiments of the prince of *Orange*; but the count *d'Egmont*, entertaining no diffidence, because he confided too much in his innocence, and in the great services he had rendered *Spain*; said they ought not to conceive so bad an opinion of the justice of the *Spaniards*. He brought over the count *d'Horn* to his opinion; and they two resolved to confide in their innocence and the justice of their prince. But the prince of *Orange* continued firm in his resolution, and retired to his government of *Holland*. The two counts went to meet the duke of *Alba*; and, at their separation, one of them said, *Adieu prince sans terre*. To which the prince replied, *Adieu prince sans tête*.

The duke of *Alba* had orders to seize the great lords of the country, and put them to death. The retreat of the prince of *Orange* disconcerted his measures: but, hoping to draw him to *Brussels* under pretence of a general assembly to be held there, he deferred the resolution he had taken to seize the counts *d'Egmont*, and *de Horn*: but, this hope being disappointed by the refusal of the prince to quit *Holland*, he began to be afraid lest the two others should escape him: he therefore caused them to be imprisoned in the citadel of *Antwerp*, and soon after brought them to their trials. They were declared guilty of high treason

treason, and were beheaded. The count *d'Egmont* was extremely shocked at being the cause of the death of the count *de Horn*; for he had not only prevented him from pursuing the same course with the prince of *Orange*, but had also used arguments to obviate some suspicions he had entertained, and had finally drawn him to *Brussels*, by giving him his word there was nothing to fear, and that he would sooner lose his life than suffer any injury to be done him: and for this reason he desired to die first, that, said he, he might acquit himself of his promise so far as was in his power.

After this execution the duke of *Alba* cited the prince of *Orange* to appear before him; but this prince, instead of obeying, took arms to defend himself.

The prisons of all the towns were in a short time filled with persons of quality, who were put to death, as having been concerned in the late seditions. The punishment was extended unto all conditions, and more blood was shed by these executions, than could have been in several battles: the duke of *Alba* boasted that he had put to death eighteen thousand persons by the hands of the common executioners.

In the mean time it was reported that *Philip* was upon the point of coming into the *Low Countries*; the fear of which kept every body in their duty; and the people were for several years amused with this expectation: it was even believed in *Spain*; for *Philip* appeared almost every day upon the point of his departure, the vessels which were to carry him were kept in readiness, and the troops which were to accompany him were even embarked: but, through a very extraordinary policy, which cost him a considerable part of the *Low Countries*, he contented himself with only keeping every body in fear and expectation of his coming; whereas, had he really gone, and shewn some clemency in rectifying the disorders, he might without difficulty have made all return to their obedience.

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The Protestants being alarmed by the conference of *Bayonne*, and understanding that measures had been concerted for their destruction, they took arms and assembled in all places ; so that the king upon his return to *Paris*, being arrived at *Meaux*, found himself in danger of being invested by the prince of *Condé*, who had followed him with several squadrons of cavalry. The constable, fearing lest the king should be besieged and taken in a place so poorly provided as this was, advised him to depart that night on his route towards *Paris*. But this departure was not without the knowledge of the prince of *Condé*, who followed him with his cavalry ; but he durst not attack the battalions of *Switzers* who escorted the king, because, whenever he attempted it, they shewed a determined resolution to make a vigorous defence. He nevertheless continued to follow, hoping to get some favourable opportunity to attack and defeat them, and make himself master of the king's person. The constable fearing lest this should really happen, caused them to halt in a place where it was impossible to force them : while the king, escorted only by a few gentlemen, proceeded towards *Paris* with all possible expedition. The prince of *Condé*, not suspecting this flight, and receiving no information of it, halted with the *Switzers*, still designing to attack them, whenever a favourable opportunity offered. Thus he lost the opportunity of making himself master of the king's person : and this young prince from that time conceived so strong an aversion against him and the Protestants, from the necessity he had been in to fly from them, that the massacre of *Saint Bartholomew* gave him a most sensible pleasure.

The war being thus become open and declared, *la Noue*, one of the principal chiefs of the protestants, a man of birth, courage, and probity, rendered himself master of the city of *Orleans*, where they principally transacted their affairs.

Great numbers of the most considerable persons in the kingdom had joined their party, either from an attachment to the prince of *Condé*, or through hatred

to the ministers, or else from a principle of religion : among whom were the admiral *de Coligny*, *d'Andelot* his brother, *le Vidame de Chartres*, the count *de Montgomery*, *Nicholas de Champagne* count *de la Suze*, *Charles de Beaumanoir* seignor *de Lauardin*, the count *de Saulx*, and others.

Their troops being assembled near *Paris*, and having taken up their quarters in the town and villages round about that city, they soon reduced it to great extremity for want of provisions, which caused the people to murmur against the constable, accusing him of a secret intelligence with his nephews. He was waiting the arrival of a considerable number of troops, which by his orders were marching from all quarters to repair to the king. As soon as these troops should arrive, he designed to march against the enemy, and attack all their quarters, one after another ; and the murmurs of the people, and the injurious reports spread by the populace against him, determined him to hasten the execution of this design. He judged it proper to begin by *Saint Dennis*, where the prince of *Condé* was lodged : and accordingly he came out of the city with 16000 men to attack this prince in his post, who had not more than 4000. The prince of *Condé* nevertheless thought it advisable not to wait his enemy in a post which might be forced, but rather to quit it, and give him battle : for, though he did not hope to gain the victory, he foresaw that the engagement could not begin till towards the evening, and that night would separate the combatants, before the constable could have gained any considerable advantage over the veteran troops, which had a retreat so near, wherein an army, not altogether victorious, would not dare to attack them.

The event was as he had foreseen. The battle was fought in the plain of *Saint Dennis* on the evening of the 2d of *November*. *Coligny*, who commanded the left wing of the protestant army, was defeated by *Francis de Montmorency*, the constable's eldest son. On the other side, the constable was defeated by the prince of *Condé* and the cardinal *de Chastillon* ;

illon ; and his troops taking to flight, he was abandoned by them, and surrounded by the enemy.

Robert Stuart, a Scots gentleman among the Protestants, desiring him to surrender to him, the constable, who, by the press of those who surrounded, was in a manner deprived of the liberty of defending himself, yet made *Stuart* no other reply than by a blow with the hilt of his sword, which he gave him with such violence in the mouth, that he beat out two of his teeth. *Stuart*, or some other, being incensed at this, shot him behind with a pistol, which pierced through his armour, and mortally wounded him. He fell to the ground ; but at that instant the victorious troops of *Francis de Montmorency*, came up and forced him out of the hands of the enemy. At last, after an engagement of three quarters of an hour, the Protestants not being able longer to dispute the victory, retired in good order, leaving the Catholics masters of the field of battle.

The next day the constable died of his wound. He was 80 years of age, but had nevertheless fought with his own hand with the vigour of youth, and had taken his measures, in regard to the engagement, with all the prudence of the most consummate general.

The queen secretly rejoiced at his death, because it freed her from a man, whose authority was a counterpoise to hers in all affairs. She nevertheless lamented him in publick, and caused his funeral to be performed in a royal manner, his effiges being therein borne, invested with all the marks of his dignity, which is an honour usually shewn only to kings and their children,

The post of constable remained vacant, and the king gave the general command of his armies to his brother *Henry* duke of *Anjou*, aged only fourteen years. Those appointed for his counsellors and lieutenant-generals were, the dukes *de Nevers* and *de Longueville*, *Artus de Cossé* marshal of France, nephew of the late marshal *de Brissac*, *Gaspard de Saulx-Tavannes*, and *Francis de Carnavalet* his governour.

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The war was pursued in all the provinces of the kingdom with as much violence as about *Paris*. *Rochelle* put itself under the protection of the prince of *Condé*, and the inhabitants obliged themselves by an oath to make use of their lives and fortunes in the cause of religion: and this oath they religiously observed; for this city continued in the hands of the Protestants throughout all the troubles which agitated the kingdom, and was always a retreat to them, till the year 1628. when it was besieged and taken by the arms of *Lewis XIII.*

Prince *Casimer*, son of the elector *Palatine*, having brought considerable forces out of *Germany* to the Protestants, and their strength augmented daily, the queen resolved to make peace with them, in order to separate them, and preserve the city of *Chartres*, which they were besieging, and which was upon the point of surrendering. She therefore caused terms of peace to be proposed to the prince of *Condé*, who readily listened to them, and directed the cardinal *de Chatillon* to confer with *Armand de Gontaut de Biron*, whom the queen had appointed for this purpose. The admiral *de Coligny*, who by a singular sagacity penetrated the designs of the queen, improved the advantage of this peace extremely. He remonstrated to the princes and chiefs of the party, that the design of this princess was to disarm them, and separate the *Germans*, and get out of their hands the places which they had taken, to prevent their serving them as a retreat, that, when they should be thus deprived of all their forces, they might with the more ease be destroyed.

These remonstrances, though they were verified by the event, were not then regarded. The peace was concluded, and confirmed by an edict of the king's, whereby the protestants were granted a liberty of conscience. The *German* troops were sent back, those of the prince disbanded, and the towns which they had taken given up to the king, in the month of *March* 1568.

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It was about this time that the account was received in *France* of the deplorable end of don *Carlos*, son of the king of *Spain*, and of *Elizabeth* of *France*, queen of *Spain*. This prince, aged 23 years, shewed such an high ambition, and so violent a desire of reigning, that his enemies made the king his father entertain a Suspicion that he designed secretly to quit *Spain*, and go put himself at the head of the rebels in the *Low Countries*, who would most certainly declare him their sovereign. *Philip* even believed he had convincing proofs of this design; and was moreover persuaded that *Carlos* had a design upon his life, and that he was in love with the queen, and was beloved by her. But, indeed his greatest crime had been his expressing himself in such terms as had given the inquisition reason to fear he intended to suppress it, whenever it should be in his power.

It is true, this young prince, being struck with the beauty of the queen, who at first had been demanded in marriage for him, could not sufficiently conceal the indignation he had conceived against his father for depriving him of her, after she had been destined for him. And *Philip's* jealousy, joined to the solicitations of the inquisitors, prejudiced him against his son to such a degree, that he resolved to proceed against him to the utmost extremity. He conferred touching his design with the officers of the inquisition, who represented to him, that he ought to sacrifice his son for the sake of religion, which would be destroyed in the *Low Countries*, if this prince should put himself at the head of the Protestants.

He caused *Carlos* to be seized, and poison to be given him, of which he died soon after. And the queen, who was with child, died also in the same manner, at the age of 20 years. It was reported, that she had died suddenly by an accident which was the consequence of her being with child.

When the death of don *Carlos* was divulged in the *Low Countries*, *Philip's* cruelty to his son renewed the hatred of the people against the *Spanish* dominion, and made them all conclude, but more especially the great lords,

lords, what they were to expect from a prince who was capable of shedding the blood of his own son: but the terror of the arms of the duke of *Alba* kept them yet for some time in obedience. The duke of *Alba*, having frequently defeated the prince of *Orange*, and driven him out of the *Low Countries*, which he had entered at the head of a powerful army he had brought out of *Germany*, and believing that he had no longer any thing to fear, because he no longer saw any thing able to resist him, recommenced the persecution of the Protestants by the most cruel punishments, and sought after all those who had been any ways concerned in the late insurrections, in order to treat them with the same rigour. This procedure made the people and the great lords quite desperate, and determined them to take arms in their own defence. And we shall see hereafter that they did not do it without success.

In the mean time the Protestants in *France* began to see the accomplishment of what had been foretold them by the admiral *de Coligny*: which was, that peace had been offered them only to disarm them, and thereby destroy them with the greater ease. In effect, the most considerable among them were attacked under other pretences than those of religion, and the governors of the provinces caused several to be destroyed by divers means. Complaints being made of this to the king, the chancellor *de l'Hopital* frequently remonstrated to him, that it was necessary for the good of the state to promote peace in the kingdom, and not provoke the protestants to a new war, by a violation of the edict which had been issued in their favour: but the queen, who loved troubles, rendered this sage magistrate suspected by the king; so that the chancellor, perceiving soon after that they began to treat him with contempt, retired to his country seat near *Estampes*; and the queen sent to demand the seals of him by *Peter Brulart* her secretary, and they were given to *John de Morvilliers*. *Catherine* now, no longer finding any obstacles to her desires in the council, made the necessary preparations

parations for war against the Protestants, who, perceiving the designs formed against them, refused to surrender the towns of *Rochelle* and *Montauban*, which were still in their possession.

It was now that the name *Politicians* began first to be used ; which name the queen gave to those great men of the kingdom, who, though attached to the old religion, yet hated all kinds of faction, and were of opinion that the peace with the Protestants ought not to be broken. Such were the cardinal *de Bourbon*, the marshals *de Montmorency*, the chancellor *de l'Hopital*, and many others.

The preachers, seeing the aversion which the partizans of the queen had for these wise and moderate men, whom they called by the odious name of *Politicians*, took the liberty to declaim against them from the pulpit, and blame them as partizans with the hereticks.

At last, an edict was published by the king, wherein his majesty forbade all his subjects, on pain of death, to profess any other religion than the Catholick. This edict made the protestants openly take arms ; and they in a short time made themselves masters of *Saintonge*, *Angoumois*, and the greatest part of *Poitou*.

The queen of *Navarre*, who was at *Rochelle* with the prince her son, and was distressed for money to defray the expences of the War, sent to demand assistance of *Elizabeth* queen of *England*. The cardinal *de Chatillon*, who had before gone to *England* to engage *Elizabeth* in the interest of the protestants, had gained great credit with that princess, and at last, in compliance with the queen of *Navarre's* request, obtained a considerable sum of money, some troops, and six pieces of canon.

The duke of *Anjou* marched against the Protestants with the king's troops, consisting of about 20000 men ; and the prince of *Condé* at the head of the Protestants, who were about 18000, advanced to meet him, with a resolution to give him battle.

The two armies met near *Jarnac* in *Angoumois*. The battle was long and bloody, and the Protestants

were defeated. The prince of *Condé*, being abandoned, had his horse killed under him; and, falling to the ground, unable to disengage himself, he surrendered to two gentlemen, one of them named *d'Argeuce*, and the other *Saint John*; but at this instant *Montesquieu*, captain of the duke of *Anjou's* guards, coming up, killed this prince by a pistol-shot in the head from behind. It was believed at that time, that he had secret orders from his master to do this. Such was the end of *Lewis de Bourbon* prince of *Condé*, illustrious by his courage and virtue, says *de Thou*, who had few equals in sense, greatness of soul, experience in war, in liberality, courtesy, and eloquence. His corps was in derision placed on an ass, and carried to *Jarnac*; where the duke of *Anjou* took up his quarters after this victory, which was obtained on the 13th of *May* 1569.

Robert Stuart, who had killed the constable at the battle of *Saint Dennis*, was taken in this of *Jarnac*; and being known by those who took him, they stabbed him in revenge of the base action he had committed in killing that great man, when he was unable to make a proper defence. *Henry de Lorraine*, duke of *Guise*, signalized his courage in this battle, and began to make good the high opinion which had been conceived of him.

The Protestants were thought to be entirely ruined by this defeat, which was soon followed by the death of *d'Andelot*, not without some suspicion of poison: but contrary to the opinion of all the world, their forces were re-established; principally by the care and prudence of the admiral who rallied their troops at *Lagnac*, a town in *Angoumois*, upon the *Charante*. The admiral was charged with the care of the war and the command of the armies, under the names and auspices of the princes (thus they called *Henry of Bourbon* prince of *Bearn*, son of the queen of *Navarre*, and *Henry* prince of *Condé*, son of the deceased.) And the Protestant princes of *Germany*, being touched by this defeat of their brethren (thus they called the Protestants of *France*) sent them a reinforcement

inforcement of 8000 horse, under the command of the duke *des Deux-Ponts*.

The prince of *Orange*, having no occasion at this time to act for the service of his own country, joined the admiral, together with his two brothers, *Henry* and *Lewis* of *Nassau*. He entered *France* with his forces, and notwithstanding the efforts of the duke *d'Aumale*, advanced into the heart of *Guiene*, and joined *Coligny*.

The king had demanded assistance from the pope, the emperor, and the princes of *Germany* and *Italy*: but the emperor and the princes of *Germany* refused to comply with his request, saying, they could not assist him in so unjust a war as that which he carried on against his own subjects.

The pope sent 4000 men, and the duke of *Florence* 1200. The armies having taken the field on both sides, they met and engaged on the frontiers of *Bearn* and *Languedoc*, near a town called *Roche l'Abelle*. The duke of *Anjou* lost the battle; his infantry, commanded by *Strozzi*, was defeated with a great slaughter, and *Strozzi* himself taken prisoner.

The now victorious *Coligny* marched to besiege *Poitiers*, hoping to take it, before the duke of *Anjou* could be able to send any succours: but he was deceived in this expectation; for the duke of *Guise* and the count *de Lude* sustained the siege and continual assaults of the Protestants with such valour, during one month, that they gave the duke of *Anjou* time to reinforce his army, and come to their relief. But *Coligny* did not wait his arrival; for, upon the first accounts which he received of his march, he raised the siege. The 28th of *September* the parliament published a decree, wherein *Coligny* and the count *de Montgomery* were declared guilty of high treason, condemned to death, and a price was set upon their heads.

The duke of *Anjou*, being weary of the war (for he could not bear any thing that was of long continuance) resolved to end it as soon as possible by a battle. His council was of opinion to hazard nothing,

but to wait the dissipation of the enemy's army, which was composed of *Germans*, who began already to mutiny, because they were not paid, and of such *French* as were desirous of returning, each to his own home. But the duke of *Anjou*, paying no regard to these reasons, attacked the Protestants near *Montoncour*, a small town in *Poitou*: the victory was long doubtful; but at last the rebels were defeated. A great deal of blood was shed, the soldiers being desirous to revenge the slaughter at *Roche l'Abeille*: four thousand *Germans*, and about the same number of *French*, were left upon the field. The battle was fought on the 3d of *October*, 1569.

The defeat of *Montoncour* was followed by the loss of several places to the Protestants; but they laboured with such expedition and vigour in the renewal of their forces, that they were in a short time able to carry the war even to the gates of *Paris*, and at last obliged the king to grant them a peace, as we shall see the year following.

There was at this time a dispute in *Italy*, between *Alphonso* duke of *Ferrera*, and *Cosmo* duke of *Florence*, touching their Rank and precedency. The emperor took cognizance of the difference, with design to adjust it: but the pope prevented him, and decided it in favour of the duke of *Florence*, whom he created great duke of *Tuscany*, and gave him power to bear a royal crown in his arms: and this he did by a brief, in which he declared, that he herein followed the example of his predecessors, who had erected the kingdoms of *Portugal*, *Bulgaria*, and *Bohemia*. *Cosmo* repaired to *Rome*, with an equipage and train suitable to his new dignity; and the pope performed the ceremony of his installation, or elevation to the rank of great duke of *Tuscany*, with great solemnity.

Though this action of the pope's was not without example, the emperor and the princes of *Germany* disapproved it extremely, pretending he had usurped a right which belonged only to the empire: but *Pius* vindicated what he had done, and maintained the duke of

Tuscany

Tuscany in the new right which he had given him, notwithstanding the remonstrances and opposition of the emperor, who could find no other expedient to prevent his being defeated in this affair, than six years after to confirm to *Francis* the son of *Cosmo* the title of great duke, which the pope had given to his father.

In *Flanders* the duke of *Alba*, proud of having driven the prince of *Orange* out of the *Low Countries*, and reduced the Protestants to such extremity as not even to dare to shew themselves, suffered himself to be so blinded by his natural vanity, that he erected in the citadel of *Antwerp*, what he intended shou'd be an eternal monument of his glory. It was a statue made of the cannon which he had taken from the Protestants in the last battle, which he caused to be placed upon a pedestal of jasper, ornamented with basso-relievo's, and inscriptions in his own praise. But the king of *Spain* was so disgusted at his vanity that four years after he ordered *Lewis de Requesens*, successor to the duke of *Alba* in the government of the *Low Countries*, to pull down this statue. *De Thou* assures us, he saw it himself some years after thrown down, and lying near the place where it had been erected.

The king plainly perceiving that open force was not the way to subject the Protestants, sent *Armand de Gontault de Biron*, grand master of the artillery, and *Henry de Mesme* counsellor of state, to the prince of *Navarre* and the prince of *Condé*, to treat about a peace, which was at last concluded, notwithstanding the remonstrances of the ambassador of *Spain*, who promised every thing from his master, provided the king would not treat with the rebels; but, whether the king had then no intention to exterminate the Protestants, or whether it was from the council of *René de Birague*, keeper of the seals, he did not think proper to discover this design to the *Spaniards*. *Philip's* fear was, lest, when peace was concluded in *France*, the troops of the Protestats should fall upon the *Low Countries*; and

for this reason he used his utmost efforts to continue the civil war.

Peace was nevertheless, granted to the Protestants by the king's edict : and, as an assurance that this edict should be better observed than the preceding, four towns were given them as a security ; which were *Rochelle, Montauban, Coignac, and la Charité* ; and these towns the princes of *Navarre* and *Condé*, together with twenty of the most considerable of their party, obliged themselves by oath to surrender to the king two years after.

At the same time when the peace was negotiating, the king also endeavoured to conclude the marriage of his sister *Margaret* with the prince of *Navarre* ; but, the great intimacy between this princess and the duke of *Guise*, being at this time discovered, it prevented the conclusion of this match. The king was so incensed at it, that he ordered *Henry d'Angouleme*, natural son of *Henry II.*, and grand prior of *France*, to quarrel with the duke of *Guise*, and kill him. But the duke being informed of this, kept himself upon his guard, discontinued his visits to *Margaret*, and soon after married *Catherine of Cleves*, widow of the prince *de Portian* ; and this conduct appeased the king.

Towards the end of the year, the king, being aged twenty-one years, espoused *Elizabeth of Austria*, the emperor's daughter ; and she was crowned at *Saint Dennis* in the month of *March 1571*. After this, proposals were again made for the marriage of *Margaret* with the prince of *Navarre* ; and it was negotiated by *Armand de Gontault de Biron*, whom the king sent for this purpose to the queen of *Navarre*. The king's design in this marriage was to inspire the principal chiefs of the Protestants with great confidence in their security, and thereby draw them to court, and destroy them, in which he succeeded. It is said, this resolution was taken at *Blois*, between the king, the queen mother, the duke of *Anjou*, the duke of *Guise*, the cardinal *de Lorraine*, and

and the duke d' *Aumale*, in the same room where the duke of *Guise* was killed some years after.

The duke of *Anjou* had a favourite named *Lignerolles*, to whom he could not refrain making a discovery of the resolution taken against the Protestants : and, though the king had recommended secrecy in the strongest terms, *Lignerolles* through a foolish vanity, or from an extravagant desire of gaining his confidence gave him to understand that he was acquainted with the secret, and even spoke to him of it : the king, dissembling his surprize and resentment, feigned not to understand him ; but at the same time he directed *Villequier*, the enemy of *Lignerolles*, to kill him, which he did immediately.

The king used another artifice to bring *Coligny* to court, who was always diffident : he shewed himself disposed to carry the war into the *Low Countries*, to conquer them from the king of *Spain* ; which was what the Protestants ardently desired. He conferred thereupon with *Lewis* of *Nassau*, the prince of *Orange's* brother ; and, some difficulties arising, he said he would resolve them with *Coligny*, for whom he designed the general command of his army for this expedition. *Nassau*, being deceived by this seeming confidence, also deceived *Coligny* by persuading him to go to court. The king received him with extraordinary marks of joy and amity, embraced him, called him his father, made him a present of an hundred thousand Franks, and granted him for a year the revenues of the benefices of his brother the cardinal de *Chatillon*, who had lately died in *England*.

While these affairs passed in *France*, the naval forces of the Christian princes leagued against the *Turks*, commanded by *John* of *Austria*, natural son of *Charles V*, gained the greatest Victory over those infidels, that was ever obtained by sea. The fleet was composed of the ships and gallies of the pope, the king of *Spain*, the republicks of *Venice* and *Genoa*, the dukes of *Savoy* and *Florence*, and the order of *Malta*. After a bloody engagement of six hours they defeated the *Turks* ; though the victory cost them

them dear ; for they lost six thousand men : but the infidels lost twenty-five thousand men, and four thousand taken prisoners. Out of two hundred and sixty ships or gallies, of which their fleet was composed, they saved only twenty-five. This engagement is called the battle of *Lepanto*, because it was fought near a gulph of that name, which separates the *Morea* from *Greece*, the 7th of *October* 1571.

The principal chiefs, who commanded under *John* of *Austria*, were *Barbarigo* general of the *Venetians*, who was wounded in the eye by an arrow, of which he died the next day, and *John-Andrew Doria*, nephew of the famous *Doria*, who commanded the right wing, and committed great errors in the engagement.

The defeat spread such a consternation throughout *Constantinople*, that the Grand Seignior immediately abandoned that city, not thinking himself safe in it. But the misunderstandings which afterwards ensued between the confederates prevented them from reaping the benefit of so great an advantage, and they separated without doing any thing farther.

The princes of *Navarre* and *Condé* being at last arrived at court, the articles of marriage were agreed on between the former and *Margaret* the king's sister. Most of the Protestants believed that the king really desired peace, and that this marriage was designed to cement it more strongly : but there were some, inconsiderable in number, who, suspecting every thing, warned *Coligny* to retire from Court as soon as he could ; for that all the demonstrations of friendship which were shewn to him tended only to his ruin : but the admiral thought himself too certain of the king's being well-disposed towards him, to pay any regard to these notices.

The queen of *Navarre* fell sick soon after her arrival at *Paris*, and died five days after she was seized ; the suddenness of which made some suspect she had been poisoned by gloves sold her by an *Italian* perfumer, named *M. René*, whom, it was said, the queen mother employed for these purposes.

About

About this time also was negotiated the marriage of the duke *d'Alencon*, the king's second brother, with *Elizabeth* Queen of *England*: but this princess excused herself upon account of the difference of Religion, and the inequality of age, she being upwards of thirty eight years, and the duke *d'Alencon* only seventeen. We shall see the conclusion of this affair hereafter.

An account being arrived in *France* of the taking of *Mons* in *Hainault* by the count *de Nassau*, *Coligny* took occasion from thence to press the king to commence the war in the *Low Countries*: and, though the king's real design was to continue the peace with *Spain*, he, nevertheless, pretended to be of *Coligny's* sentiments, and told him, that he was resolved to undertake this war, but was desirous to have the approbation of his council, and therefore desired him to draw up in writing the reasons which might induce them to grant their approbation. *Coligny* accordingly drew up these reasons, presented them to the king, who praised them, and shewed them to his council; but, some objections being made, he ordered *John de Morvilliere*, who was president in the council, to reply in writing, that so, the difference of sentiment being clearly explained on both sides, a resolution might be taken with the greater certainty: thus the king gained time without giving any suspicion to *Coligny*,

At last, all things being ready for the execution of the grand design, and the most considerable chiefs of the Protestants being come to *Paris*, in hopes of the war in the *Low Countries*, or to assist at the marriage of the king of *Navarre*, the marriage of this prince with *Margaret*, received benediction before the church of *Notre-Dame*, from the cardinal *de Bourbon*, the 17th of *August*, pope *Gregory XIII.* having granted a dispensation with regard to the affinity of blood and the difference of religion between the prince and princess.

Coligny now received several couriers from his friends at *Rochelle*, pressing him strongly to retire

from court, if he would save himself from destruction. But he replied, that he was resolved to confide in the king's promise, and that, in short, he rather chose to be dragged through the streets of *Paris*, than again engage himself in a civil war. A few days after, as he was returning on foot from the *Louvre* to his lodgings, near the cloisters of *Saint Germans Auxerrois*, a musket was fired at him from the window of a house by which he passed; and he was wounded with two balls, one of which pierced his left arm, and the other his right hand. His attendants broke open the door of the house to seize the assassin; but they found only the musket: the person who had fired it was a domestick of the duke of *Guise*, named *Mourewal*, who had made his escape through a back-door, upon a horse there ready for the purpose.

The king of *Navarre*, the prince of *Condé*, and all the Protestants, being alarmed by this action, appeared desirous to retire from *Paris*, not thinking themselves safe; but the king quieted their fears. He shewed great rage and indignation at the action, and swore that he would punish the author and the accomplices so rigorously, that it should shew he considered the injury as done to himself. He went to see *Coligny* with the queen his mother, shewed great concern at his wounds, and often repeated, that, though *Coligny* had received them, yet it was himself that felt the pain, and that he would take vengeance on all those who had been concerned in the crime; in short, he succeeded in his dissimulation so perfectly well, that he made the Protestants change the resolution they had taken to retire from *Paris* and carry *Coligny* away with them: he even proposed to have him conveyed to the *Louvre*; but, the physicians declaring that one of his wounds was so dangerous that he could not be removed without danger of his life, the king appointed him a guard, in appearance for the safety of his person, but in reality to prevent his escape.

The night between the 23d and 24th of *August* being come, the duke of *Guise*, who was charged with

with the execution of the grand design which had been concerted for the destruction of the Protestants, in the king's name, ordered *John Charon*, president of the court of aids and provost of the city, to direct the proper officers to keep their men under arms in the several quarters of the city, to be ready to execute what should be commanded them by the king, and that about midnight they should be at the *Hotel de Ville* to receive the order. They accordingly appeared there at the hour appointed; and it was declared to them, that they should put all the Protestants to the sword, without sparing any of the impious rebels to God and the king; that they should begin at the signal which should be given them by a certain bell; and that the example of *Paris* should be followed in all the towns throughout the kingdom. These orders were received with joy by the people, who had before begun to surmise the design.

When the king was told that all things were in readiness for the execution, and that they only waited his order to give the signal, the horror of the action, of which he was then more sensible, terrified him; but the queen his mother, observing him wavering, accused him of cowardice, and reproached him, in that by his irresolution he would lose the opportunity which God had given him to destroy his enemies. The king being piqued at this reproach, commanded the signal to be given. It was the bell of *Saint German* that was to give it; and it rung at one o'clock in the morning; at which time the duke of *Guise*, accompanied by his uncle the duke d' *Aumale*, and the chevalier d' *Angouleme*, the king's natural brother, went to the lodging of *Coligny*, and caused the doors of the anti-chamber, which were fastened to be forced open. The admiral upon the first noise got out of bed, and commanded his people to save themselves, and leave him to die alone, concluding that resistance would be in vain.

Besme, a German, who had been page to the duke of *Guise*, entered the chamber sword in hand; and, seeing *Coligny*, he asked if his name was *Coligny*?

Yes,

said the admiral, that is my name, reverence these silver hairs. *Besme* immediately ran him through the body with his sword, and others who followed him did the like, so that he fell down dead. The duke of *Guise*, who was in the court while this murder was committing, asked *Besme*, whether it was done? And, he replying in the affirmative, the duke told him, the chevalier *d'Angouleme* would not believe it, unless he saw it: whereupon his corpse was cast through the window into the court: and, the duke of *Guise* being convinced by the sight of his countenance, his head was then severed from his body, and was carried even as far as *Rome*. The body, after having been long dragged through the streets, was at last hung by the heels to a gibbet at *Montfaucon*, from whence the duke *de Montmorency* caused it to be taken down some days after, and interred in the chapel of *Chantilly*.

In the mean time all the Protestants in *Paris* were slaughtered: and as they were sought for in the most secret recesses, few escaped the popular fury. The count *de la Rochefaucault* and *Charles de Beaumanoir*, for whom the king had a particular affection, were not exempted. Even several Catholics, suspected of favouring them, were overwhelmed in the general destruction; and several others also, whose only crime was being rich, or having enemies, were massacred by those who sought plunder or revenge. This was called the massacre of *Saint Bartholomew*, because the perpetration was begun in the night preceding the day so called.

During this horrid execution, the king sent for the king of *Navarre* and the prince of *Condé* whom he had caused to be confined in the *Louvre*, to keep them out of danger, into his cabinet; and being come, he declared to them what was transacting, and told them at the same time, that if they did not embrace the Catholick religion, they must prepare to suffer the same fate.

The king of *Navarre* replied with great submission, that he was ready to obey his majesty in all things: but

but the prince of *Condé*, with great boldness, reproached him with breach of faith : saying, he had shamefully violated the promise he had made in his edicts ; and that it was the utmost indignity to himself to massacre those who confided in them ; that, in regard to his own life, he might do as he pleased ; but that, as to his conscience, he could not have that in his power ; and that, though it should cost him his life, he would never change his religion. The king, being incensed by this reply, called him stubborn, seditious rebel, the son of a rebel, and declared to him that, if within three days he did not change his resolution, he should certainly die.

The slaughter continued three days in *Paris* and the suburbs ; and it is computed that upwards of eight thousand were slain. *De Thou* assures us, that he had often, with the utmost horror, seen a goldsmith, named *Crucé*, who boasted of having killed more than four hundred with his own hands. Among so many examples of inhumanity, we have one instance of perfect generosity, in the person of a Catholick gentleman, who saved his enemy. There had long been an irreconcilable enmity between two gentlemen of the first rank in *Quercy* : one of them, named *Vesins*, was a man of probity, courage, and sincerity, but of so savage and barbarous a disposition, that he was insupportable to every body : the other was named *Vignieres*, and was a man of worth, esteemed for his courage, and beloved by every body for his polite and obliging behaviour : both these gentlemen were at *Paris* ; *Vignieres* was an Hugonet, and expected death in his own house, when *Vesins* entered it, followed by several armed persons ; and, having forced open the door of the chamber where he was, he ordered him to come down into the street, mount a horse which was there, and follow him. *Vignieres* obeyed, and *Vesins* conveyed him out of *Paris*, surrounded by his armed men, like a prisoner, and conducted him in this manner into *Quercy*, without deigning to say a word to him. *Vignieres* expected nothing less than to be killed by his enemy ; but he was greatly

greatly surprized, when he found himself in his own house, and heard *Vesins* declare to him, that he had brought him away in this manner only to save his life. *Vignieres* in the transports of his gratitude would have embraced him; but *Vesins* repulsed him roughly, saying, I do not ask your friendship, but leave you in your former liberty to be either my friend or my enemy, as you shall please; and, saying these words, he immediately retired.

When the fury of the murderers was abated, the king was greatly disquieted, not knowing whether he should countenance or disapprove the action. He at first wrote to several of the governors in the provinces, acquainting them that this carnage had been made without his participation by the house of *Guise*, in revenge on *Coligny*, whom they considered as author of the death of the late duke: but, it being represented to him, that such a declaration would arm the *Montmorency's* against the dukes of *Guise*, and that thereby he would see his kingdom divided into two factions, and his authority despised, he went to the parliament, and there declared, that the massacre of the Protestants had been done by his order, not in hatred to their religion, but to punish *Coligny* and his accomplices for a conspiracy against the royal house. The first president *de Thou*, in a few words, praised the king's prudence; but he in particular took the liberty of representing the horror of so detestable an action, saying, that, if the conspiracy of *Coligny* was real, he ought to have been legally punished.

The king at the same time by an edict publicly declared what he had said in parliament; and he more particularly affirmed, that he had not acted upon this occasion in hatred of the religion of the Protestants, which he took under his protection. This edict was sent to the governors of the provinces; but they were at the same time acquainted, that the king expected the example of *Paris* should be followed in all the towns throughout the kingdom; and the Protestants were accordingly put to death in all places where the Catholics were the strongest.

Dauphin,

Dauphiné, Provence, and Auvergne, were the only places exempted from this inhumanity. *Claudius of Savoy* count *de Tende*, governor of *Provence*, *Bertrand de Simianes*, governor of *Dauphiné*, and *Saint Heran*, governor of *Auvergne*, frankly replied, that they would not put such cruel orders in execution; considering them as not coming from the king, but from the enemies of the publick repose, who abused his majesty's name and authority.

All the *European* princes looked upon this action with the utmost abhorrence; nor were there any, except the pope and the king of *Spain*, who appeared in the least to approve it: but these two gave thanks to heaven for it by processions and publick prayers. Even the more sensible among the *Catholicks* of *France* openly blamed it, and confessed, to the shame of our nation, that in all antiquity, or in the accounts of the most barbarous nations, an example could not be found of such horrid cruelty.

The king sent ambassadors to the several princes of *Europe*, to endeavour to excuse what he began to perceive was held in such abhorrence. *Pomponius de Bellievre* was sent to the protestant *Swiss* Cantons, and *John de Montluc*, bishop of *Valence*, into *Poland*. The *Poles* were then upon the point of electing a king; and *France* had demanded this crown for the duke of *Anjou*: but, they having received an account of the massacre of *Saint Bartholomew*, it alienated those from the interests of *France*, who had been most attached to them. The bishop of *Valence* used his utmost endeavours to persuade them, that neither the king nor the duke of *Anjou* were accessary to the cruelty of this action; that the king's intention had only been to punish *Coligny*; and that the people's fury had committed the rest contrary to his intention.

The king, being resolved to conquer the obstinacy of the prince of *Condé*, proposed three things to him, and commanded him to chuse one of them immediately, mass, death, or perpetual imprisonment. The prince replied, " God forbid that I should chuse the
" first !

“ first ! and as to the two others, I leave the choice
 “ to your majesty, who will fix on that which the
 “ providence of God shall direct.”

The respect with which the prince spoke calmed the king's passion ; but his firmness shewed that violence would be in vain ; and recourse was therefore had to other expedients. *Sureau*, the most celebrated among the Protestant teachers, was seduced, and made publickly to abjure his error ; after which he was brought to the prince of *Condé*, to whom he used many arguments to prove that the antient was the true religion, and that the new doctrine was a manifest error. The example of this minister made a great impression upon the prince's mind : he thought he could no longer consider it as resolution, but obstinacy, not to imitate him who had been his guide and preceptor ; and he therefore abjured the heresy, together with the king of *Navarre*, before the cardinal de *Bourbon*. *Sureau*, soon after repenting his dissimulation, begged pardon of the prince for having deceived him, and retired into *Germany*, where he wrote and printed a book to disprove his abjuration.

What remained of the protestants in the kingdom retired to *Rochelle*, with a resolution there to defend themselves, which made the king resolve to undertake the siege of that place. In the mean time he caused *Lanoue* to be solicited by his old friend the duke de *Longueville* to come to court. *Lanoue* was a Protestant, but a man of an universal good character, who, after the taking of *Mons*, which he had defended against the duke of *Alba*, knew not where to retire for safety. The king, who designed to employ him in his service, promised him every thing he could expect or desire, and at last prevailed on him to come to court, where he was very well received, and directed by the king to go to *Rochelle*, and endeavour to subject that place to him. The king declared to him, that he did not expect him to betray or deceive those to whom he lent him, and that he left him to use his own discretion in regard to the means he should think proper to use. *Lanoue* repaired to
Rochelle

Rochelle where he was received with incredible joy. The great esteem they had of his merit determined them to give him the sovereign command : all voluntarily submitted to his authority, to carry on the war under his conduct and direction. He accepted the command with design to use his influence in persuading them to submit to the king, and he kept it as long as he had any hopes of success. But at the same time he neglected nothing which he thought it his duty to do for those who confided in him, and had put themselves under his protection.

The siege of *Rochelle* was commenced the 8th of December by *Biron*, whom the king destined for governor of that place. Some time after the duke of *Anjou*, arriving in the camp, pressed the besieged with great vigour ; but they repulsed all attacks with incredible valour. They were encouraged by *Lanoue*, who did every thing for their defence that could be expected from a great general, while at the same time he used his utmost address and eloquence to prevail on them to submit to the king. At last, some months being elapsed, and this gentleman finding he laboured in vain to bring these rebels to their duty, and fearing lest he should himself pass for one of them, if he continued in their service, as he had hitherto done, he abandoned them, and retired into the camp of the duke of *Anjou*. They were irritated, but not discouraged, by his retreat, and continued upon all occasions to shew an invincible courage : even the women were competitors with the men in valour, having fought with them in several of the assaults.

At last the king, from their resistance apprehending an issue but little favourable to his arms, resolved to grant them peace. With this design, he sent into the camp *Nicholas de Neufville* seignor de *Villeroy*, secretary of state, with orders to treat with the *Rochellers*. The duke of *Anjou*, who at this time received information that he was elected king of *Poland*, resolved to try one more assault, that he might, if possible, end this expedition gloriously. The assault was accordingly

cordingly given the 12th of *June*; but the assailants were repulsed with such vigour, that they no longer thought of any thing but coming to terms with the besieged.

After several conferences, a peace was concluded, upon condition that the *Rochellers*, those of *Sancerre*, *Montauben*, and some other towns which the Protestants possessed, should have liberty to profess the reformed religion; and that the exercise of the Catholick religion, which had been abolished in these towns, should be restored; that they should receive for governors those whom the king should appoint; that his majesty should pardon them the past, and should suffer them to live, accordidg to custom, under their ordinary magistrates; and that they should themselves garrison their towns. Thus ended the war against the Protestants the 6th of *July* 1573.

A few days after the duke of *Anjou's* return to *Paris*, the ambassadors from *Poland* arrived there, to the number of more than two hundred, besides many of the young nobility who accompanied them. Nothing had before been seen in *France* so magnificent as their equipage and the richness of their dresses. They were received with all sorts of honours, not only because the occasion of their coming was highly honourable to *France*, as it was to acknowledge the duke of *Anjou* for their king, and pay him homage, but also because the king was greatly pleased at the *Poles* having in a very positive manner rejected the pretension of the ambassador of *Spain*, who had disputed the precedency with that of *France*, in the diet which was assembled for the election of a king; this assembly ordered, that the ambassador of *Spain* should have no place at the solemn mass, at which the ambassadors were to assist, but after the bishop of *Valence*, the ambassador of *France*, who should be placed immediately after that of the emperor.

The duke of *Anjou* was but little affected by the honours of royalty; it was with difficulty that he prevailed on himself to leave *France*, where his merit had gained him a reputation which began to render him

him suspected by the king. The duke endeavoured to delay his departure, under pretence of the inconveniencies of the approaching winter ; but the king, being no longer able to bear his presence, one day in a great rage swore by the name of God, which he frequently did, that either himself or his brother should quit the kingdom. At last the king of *Poland*, knowing his brother's inflexible and violent temper, prepared for his departure to *Poland*, having received the promises of the princes of the empire not to obstruct his passage, though they had at first declared they would. The king accompanied him as far as *Chalons* upon the *Marne*, where, being taken ill, he was obliged to stop: it is said, that the cause of his illness was not natural ; and the king of *Poland* so openly shewed his disgust at quitting *France*, and the queen his mother appeared so afflicted at it, that they were both suspected of a design to destroy the king.

This year died *Michael de l'Hopital*, chancellor of *France*, aged 70 years. He was one of the wisest and most learned men in his time. He resembled *Aristotle* in his countenance, or at least the images and portraits of this philosopher which antiquity has left us.

At the commencement of the year 1574 the king of *Poland* arrived there, accompanied by several of the *French* nobility, and by *Pomponius de Bellievre*, ambassador from *France* to his *Polish* majesty. *Guy Dufaur de Pibrac*, his chancellor, replied, with an eloquence which was admired by all, to the speeches and demands which were made by the *Poles* to their new king. While joy was universal throughout *Poland*, affairs in *France* threatened discord and troubles : the more the queen endeavoured to remedy and prevent the evil, the more by her imprudence she increased it. The duke of *Alencon*, who was naturally turbulent, complained of being neglected, in that the queen had given the duke of *Lorraine* the command of the army, which the king of *Poland* had resigned : he said, they ought to have preferred him to a stranger ; and, being resolved to be revenged for the injury

jury which he thought he had hereby received, he attached himself to the *Montmorency's*, who were dissatisfied with the queen, because she had prejudiced the king against them, and sought by all manner of means to humble them. The king of *Navarre*, the prince of *Condé*, and all the Protestants, entered into the same party, which was called the league of politics; and thus nothing but troubles and confusion were to be seen throughout the kingdom. The Protestants made a great progress, especially in *Languedoc* and *Guyenne*, under the command of *Lanoue*, and in *Normandy*, under the count *de Montomery*.

The king raised with all expedition three armies; one of which was led into *Normandy* by *Matignon*, the king's lieutenant in that province; and the others entered *Languedoc*, *Guyenne*, and *Dauphiné*; and the war was carried on with great vigour in all these places.

In the mean time the king being informed of the union of the king of *Navarre*, and the prince of *Condé*, and the *Montmorency's*, with the duke of *Alençon*, and of their design to retire from court, he caused the duke of *Alençon* and the king of *Navarre* to be seized at *Vincennes*, and committed the marshals *de Montmorency* and *de Cossé* prisoners to the *Bastile*: and they were all accused of having conspired the death of the king.

The queen mother, who had resolved to destroy some of them, and deprive the others of all power, rendered them odious to the king, who, being dispirited with his distemper, easily complied with all the destructive resolutions with which she inspired him. And she, perceiving the king's distemper daily grew worse, caused letters patent to be passed, whereby the king appointed her regent of the kingdom.

She at the same time, with great joy, real or apparent, received information of the taking of the count *de Montgomery*, *Matignon*, having besieged him in the castle of *Donfront*, had at last forced him to surrender, upon condition his life should be spared: but the queen, without paying any regard to this agreement,

agreement, caused him to be brought to *Paris*, with design to have him beheaded by the hands of the common executioner. She with great eagerness carried the news of his being taken to the king: but he appeared little affected with it; for death, which approached, had already deprived him of almost all sensation: and in effect he died the same day, being the feast of *Pentecost*, after having suffered great pains. He was aged 25 years. He left by the queen his wife only one daughter, who died soon after him, and one natural son, named *Charles*, count *d'Auvergne*. His body being opened, several marks of poison appeared therein.

Charles IX. was a prince of great wit and courage; but he had been spoiled by bad education, and the evil council of the queen his mother, who from his youth had accustomed him to blood, and all the liberties which youth and independence are capable to inspire. He was naturally cholerick, and frequently uttered the most horrid oaths and imprecations. Towards the end of his life, he began to mistrust the queen his mother, and to perceive the state of his kingdom. He saw that the two factions of *Guise* and *Montmorency* had caused all the past troubles; and for this reason he had resolved the ruin of both those houses.

The same year died *Cosmo* duke of *Florence*, esteemed one of the greatest and wisest princes that ever lived.

H E N R Y III.

AFTER the death of *Charles IX.* the queen sent *Barbezieres de Chemerault* with an account of it to *Henry* king of *Poland*, to whom the crown of *France* descended by right of succession. *Henry* resolved to go immediately into *France*; and the *Poles*, being apprehensive of his design, resolved on their side to prevent him: but, as they did not apprehend he

he could excite his intention so suddenly, his expedition disappointed them; for he departed the night following from *Cracovia*, and got out of the dominions of *Poland*, almost before they were informed of his flight. He wrote to the senate of *Poland*, representing the necessity he was under of going immediately into *France* to prevent the troubles which his absence might cause, and demanding some senators to be sent to him to receive his orders touching the administration of the republick.

When he arrived upon the confines of *Austria*, he was met by the two sons of the emperor *Maximilian II.* who waited to receive him, and accompanied him to *Vienna*, from which city even the emperor came two miles to meet him. From thence he went to *Venice*, and then to *Turin*, where he gave up *Pignerol* and some other towns in *Piedmont* to the duke of *Savoy*. He received coldly the marshal *Henry de Montmorency d'Anville*, who repaired to *Turin* to justify himself to his majesty against the calumnies with which his enemies had aspersed him and his brothers. *D'Anville*, judging by his reception that the ruin of his house was resolved, retired immediately to his government of *Languedoc*, and united with the Protestants, by whom he had long been solicited. He concluded a league between them and those Catholics called *Politicians*: the principal articles of which were, that the prince of *Condé* should have the command of the army; that the necessary security should be taken for the observance of the edicts issued in favour of the Protestants; that the duke *d'Alençon*, the king of *Navarre*, the duke *de Montmorency*, and the marshal *de Cossé*, should be set at liberty; and that the states should be assembled as soon as possible.

The king arrived at *Lyons*; and, the queen with the nobility having repaired thither, all began to cast their eyes upon him, to examine his conduct, and discover what was to be hoped from his reign. It is wonderful how different he was found from what he had appeared when only duke of *Anjou*: and, though he had been nursed in arms, he now shewed nothing but

but weakness, both of body and mind. He immediately abandoned himself to voluptuousness, giving scarce a few moments in the day to hear any thing said concerning affairs. He no longer permitted the great lords to address him with the liberty and familiarity with which they had the preceding kings; admitting to this intimacy only a few young men, who had neither experience nor merit. He confided wholly in them, and loaded them with riches, with an unbounded prodigality, which, joined to the excessive expences he was at in his pleasures, soon exhausted his treasury. This conduct, he knew, would not answer the great opinion which had been conceived of him. *De Thou* says, that, being at *Lyons*, an officer of justice, his particular friend, named *Simon Boffius*, who was provost of *Limoges*, and a man of learning, prudence, and skill in judicial astrology, had told him several times, as a thing of which he was certain, that the reign of this prince would betray the hopes which his first exploits would cause to be conceived of him, and that his end would be miserable. Indeed, nothing could be more different than the two parts of the life of this prince: nothing more glorious than his conduct when duke of *Anjou*, and commanding the army of the king his brother: nothing more despicable, or unworthy the royal dignity, than his behaviour when on the throne. *Charles IX*, his brother, knew him well, and had said of him, when he went to *Poland*, that he would disappoint the expectations of the *French* and foreigners, and that the rank he was going to appear in would shew the world what sort of man he was.

The king's council was at this time composed of the queen mother, the duke of *Guise* and their relations, the dukes *Nemours* and *Angouleme*, (this last was a natural son of *Henry II*) and *Albert de Gondy* count *de Retz*, an *Italian*, whom the queen had brought into *France* with her, and had bestowed her favour so profusely upon him, that he was at this time one of the greatest lords in the kingdom. The first affair, whereon they deliberated in the council, was, whether they

they should take arms against the Protestant league; or whether they should harken to their deputies, who were soon to arrive at court? It was determined, that they should be heard, and that in the mean time all necessary preparations should be made for carrying on the war against them.

From *Lyons* the king went to *Avignon*; where, to shew his piety, he frequently assisted in the processions of the penitents, disguised under the extraordinary habit in which they appear; which inspired the great lords of the court with great contempt of him. But they, nevertheless, followed his example; among others, the cardinal *de Lorraine*, who died a few days after in this city, from having, as it was said, assisted barefoot in the night in these ridiculous processions, at a time when it was extremely cold, being towards the end of *December*.

The cardinal *de Lorraine* was one of the greatest men of his time, but seemed born to be the scourge of *France*; for his ambition and violent temper had all his life disturbed the repose of the kingdom. There were some suspicions that he had been poisoned by a general conspiracy of the whole clergy of *France*, who were extremely incensed against him, because he daily invented new means to tax and subject them to the court of *Rome*.

The king proceeded from *Avignon* to *Rheims*, in order for his coronation: and at the same time he sent *Philip Hurault de Chiverny*, who was his chancellor before he succeeded to the crown, to demand in marriage, of the duke of *Lorraine*, *Louisa*, daughter of the count *de Vaudemont* the duke's brother, with whom he had fallen in love, when he had seen her, as he was going from *France* to *Poland*.

The king, upon his arrival at *Rheims*, found there the duke of *Lorraine* and the dutchess his wife, the count *de Vaudemont* and the princess *Louisa* his daughter. The ceremony of the coronation was performed the 15th of *February*, and the next day the king espoused the princess. *De Thou*, who was present, says, that these two days mass was not performed till the

the evening, the king having employed the whole of each day in dressing himself, and in adjusting with his own hands the princess's ruff; which behaviour every body openly disapproved, and attributed to his contempt for religion. *De Thou* also tells us, that *Te Deum* was forgot to be sung at the king's coronation, which was remarked and considered as a bad presage; as though it were a sign the king's reign would not be the joy and happiness of *France*.

In the mean time the war was pursued with violence in all the provinces of the kingdom: *Montbrun*, who was in *Dauphiné* at the head of the Protestants, was taken by *Rochefort* his relation upon an inconsiderable occasion, his horse having fallen under him, and broke his leg. The parliament of *Dauphiné* tried him, condemned him to death, and caused him to be beheaded.

At the same time *Besme*, the murderer of admiral *Coligny*, was discovered and taken by the Protestants in *Guyenne*, upon his return from *Spain*, where he had been sent by the duke of *Guise*. They deliberated whether they should try him as a murderer; but it was judged better to cause him to be killed by some soldiers, lest, if he were put to death by the forms of justice, the same method should be used with those of their party who might be taken in the course of the war. They therefore pretended to consider him only as a prisoner of war; and, the soldiers to whom he was given to be conveyed from one town to another having killed him, it was reported to have been done by robbers.

Francis de Bonne de Lesdiguieres lieutenant of *Montbrun*, a young gentleman of great merit, was chosen by the Protestants to be their governor of *Dauphiné*.

Towards the end of this year the *Poles* declared their king divested of all right to the crown of *Poland*, because he had himself abandoned the kingdom, and had refused to pay any regard to the intreaties, which had been made to him by all orders in the kingdom, to return and take upon him the go-

vernment. They elected for their king *Stephen Bathory* prince of *Transilvania*, and caused him to espouse the princess *Anne*, sister of *Sigismund Augustus* their last king.

The marshals *de Montmorency* and *de Cossé* were still prisoners in the *Bastile*; and, upon a report which was spread of the death of marshal *d'Anville*, the brother of *Montmorency*, it was resolved to strangle them in prison. The commission for it was given to *Souvré*, one of the officers of the king's chamber, who, being an honest and sensible man, accepted it, lest, if he refused it, it should be given to another who would execute it. While he was considering what means to employ to save the lives of these two marshals, a certain account came that *d'Anville* was not dead, which occasioned the order given for the death of his brother and *de Cossé* to be revoked. At the same time, the duke *d'Alençon* having escaped from his guards, and retired from court, the queen mother released the two marshals, hoping, by this mark of affection, to prevent their party from joining the duke *d'Alençon*.

The disorders in the *Low Countries* were even greater than those in *France*. The provinces of *Holland*, *Zealand*, and *Friseland*, had called in the prince of *Orange*, and declared him their governor: even the Catholics of the other provinces, ecclesiasticks and others, being incensed at the tyranny of the *Spaniards*, had taken arms. The assembly of the states had entered into a league against the *Spaniards*, of which they had made the prince of *Orange* chief: and they had at the same time desired the queen of *England* and the duke *d'Alençon* to join them: so that *John of Austria*, succeeding *Requesens*, who was dead, in the government of the *Low Countries*, found them almost entirely revolted against *Spain*. This league assumed the name of the states general of the *Low Countries*, which it always preserved, and the provinces which afterwards succeeded in freeing themselves from the *Spanish* dominion called themselves the *United Provinces of the Low Countries*.

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In the mean time the prince of *Condé* arrived in *France* at the head of 20000 *Germans*, most of which were commanded by prince *John Casimer*, son of the count *Palatine* of the *Rhine* : these troops, joined to those which were before in arms in *France*, composed a formidable army, with which the prince of *Condé* having repaired to the duke d' *Alençon*, he resigned the command of it to him, and acknowledged him for general.

The queen now judged the only thing to be done was to make peace with them at any rate, in order to dissipate so formidable an army, and detach the duke d' *Alençon* from those who were leagued with him. She undertook to negotiate this herself : and, repairing to the duke's camp, she offered him from the king every advantage he could desire, both for himself in particular, and the Protestants in general. After some conferences, a peace was at last concluded upon terms advantageous to the confederates : the Protestants were granted liberty to profess their religion in all parts of the kingdom, without exception : the memory of *Coligny*, *Montgomery*, and *Monbrun* was restored to honour by the king's edict, which also directed the states to assemble at *Blois* within six months. The county of *Tourraine* and the dutchies of *Berry* and *Anjou* were given to the duke d' *Alençon*, with a right of nomination to the bishopricks, abbies and other benefices ; which right did belong to the king : and from that time this prince stiled himself duke of *Anjou*. This peace, which pacified all the discontented, for some time prevented a destructive war, and in a moment dissipated a great army, which the prince of *Condé* had taken great pains to raise.

The enemies of the Protestants, of which the principal was the duke of *Guise*, did not dissemble their resentment of a peace which they found too advantageous to the enemies of religion. They highly blamed the queen's precipitation and the king's compliance. They assembled and declared among themselves, that, since the king abandoned the cause of religion, they would defend it. They went from

house to house, solicited the most considerable of the citizens of *Paris*, made them swear to defend religion against the sectaries, and caused the same oath to be taken by the gentry in the country; they also went into the most considerable towns, and engaged those who had the imprudence to give ear to them to enter into a league with them.

Such was the commencement of this fatal league, which reduced the kingdom to the last extremity. The form of the oath which was taken was, to swear upon the holy evangelists (whereon they actually laid their hands) to be always faithful to the holy league, which the Catholick princes, gentlemen, and citizens entered into to defend the Catholick religion, and re-establish it in the kingdom in the same state it had been in the time of *Glovis*. And to this purpose they promised to employ their lives and fortunes, agreeable to the orders which should be given them by their chief, whom they were to obey in all things, without exception.

The articles and laws of this league were, that a chief should be created as soon as possible, whom all those of the league should be obliged to obey; that he should have power, without form of trial, to put all those to death who should disobey him; that all Catholicks should be invited to join in this league; that those who should refuse, should be considered as the enemies of religion, and pursued with open force; and that, if any one, after having entered the league, should withdraw from it, he should be punished in the severest manner, as a rebel to God.

The king, who was not then sensible of the consequences of this league, not only permitted it, but even shewed his approbation of it, because he was disgusted at having been forced, against his inclinations, to grant such advantageous conditions to his brother and the Protestants, and wished for a pretence to revoke what he had done. But he afterwards found that this league attacked the royal dignity more than it defended religion. The Protestants, seeing themselves menaced with ruin, began to think
seriously

seriously of defending themselves, and acknowledged for their chief the king of *Navarre*, who, since his retirement from court, publicly professed their religion, and had openly declared that his abjuration had been extorted by violence, and that it had never been his design to renounce the religion wherein he had been educated.

The month of *November* being come, the states assembled at *Blois*, agreeable to their convocation. In this assembly it was that the king discovered the design of the league tended to injure the royal dignity, and transfer all authority into the hands of him who should be chosen for chief. There was no chief, as yet declared; but it was plainly perceived that the duke of *Guise*, who was the life of the cause, would, certainly be the man. The king met with a general opposition to every thing he proposed to the states by the chancellor *de Birague* for the confirmation of his authority.

They now began to spread throughout the kingdom, and in foreign nations, more especially at *Rome*, libels, intimating, that the race of *Charlemagne* had been unjustly driven from the throne; that the *Capets*, who were usurpers of the crown, had drawn upon the kingdom all kinds of misfortunes; that God evidently shewed his intention to re-establish the true heirs, who had been preserved in *Lorraine*; that his providence had brought them into *France*, by there establishing the house of *Guise*; that Heaven declared itself for this house by the people's favour, which the duke of *Guise* entirely possessed; and that all Catholics, and more especially the pope, head of the church, ought to concur in the design, in order to oppose a courageous and truly Catholick king against the enemies of the church, in whose favour the reigning prince had declared himself by an edict unworthy of a Catholick king.

Besides this, they sent to the pope and the king of *Spain* an account of what was proposed to be undertaken and executed by means of the league: and this was, that, that when the duke of *Guise* should be

declared chief, and this dignity should have rendered him all powerful in the kingdom, the duke d' *Alencon* might be seized, tried, and punished with death, as a criminal, in having declared himself chief of the hereticks; that the king should be confined in a monastery; and that the pope should give the kingdom to the duke of *Guise*, who should abolish the liberties of the *Gallick* church, and cause the council of *Trent* to be received in the kingdom.

This project could not be kept so secret, but that the king's ambassadors immediately gained some knowledge of it, which they sent to court. *Henry* was extremely incensed at it; but, instead of acting with vigour against the authors of the league, and employing his authority to repress or destroy them, he had recourse to an expedient unworthy of himself, and by which he entirely destroyed the royal dignity: he declared himself chief of the league, hoping to draw to himself all the authority which this title could confer upon the person who should be invested with it. He also subscribed to the articles, and ordered all Catholics to do the like. The assembly of the states at the same time revoked the last edict of peace issued in favour of the Protestants, ordered that there should no longer be any other religion in the kingdom than the Catholick, and that those who had separated themselves from it should be constrained by force of Arms to return to it again.

At the beginning of the year 1577, the king, being desirous to humble the duke of *Guise*, who pretended to place himself in the same rank with the princes of the blood, issued an edict, wherein he declared, that in all assemblies and ceremonies the princes of the blood should have precedency before all others, even the great officers of the crown, who should be obliged to give place to those who had the honour of being of the royal blood.

The king knowing the probity of the first president *de Thou*, and the affection he had for his service; he secretly sent *Claudius Douran*, who was afterwards master of requests, to desire his advise in regard to his

his proceedings against the league. The affair required the greatest secrecy; for, had the people known that this magistrate advised the king against the league, it might have cost him his life. *Douran*, therefore, came to him by night: and the first president told him, that the king thought too late of ruining the league; that, though the thing was not impossible, it was nevertheless exceedingly difficult; that at present he did not clearly perceive all the means which might be used; but that the first step, which to him appeared absolutely necessary, was to establish peace in the kingdom, and thereby deprive the factious of all pretence to assemble or league together. The king, in pursuance of this advice, declared to the assembly of the states, before they broke up, that his intention was to establish the Catholick religion throughout the kingdom, but not to use any violence: and he desired that the care of this affair might be left to him, and no other be concerned in it. The war was, nevertheless, carried on to the month of *October*, though with but little vigour on either side. Peace succeeded by an edict which the king published at *Poitiers*; which was received with incredible joy by all who were sincerely desirous of the publick good, as well Catholicks as Protestants.

About this time died *Blaise de Montluc*, marshal of *France*, who had long pursued the war in *Italy* in the service of the preceding kings. He was one of the greatest enemies of the Protestants. He was the king's lieutenant in *Guyenne*, and to the day of his death carried on an open war against them in that province, giving no quarter to any, and hanging all those who fell into his hands.

While these affairs passed in *France*, don *Sebastian* king of *Portugal*, a young prince of great courage, went into *Africa* to make war upon the *Moors*; but his expedition proved unfortunate, for he was there defeated and slain. *Henry* cardinal of *Portugal*, great uncle to *Sebastian*, succeeded him in the kingdom, but reigned only one year: after whose death, the succession was contested between *Philip II*, king

of *Spain*, and the duke of *Braganza*, both sons of two princesses of the royal house ; and by *Antony*, a natural son of a brother of the cardinal's, who assumed the title of king, and took possession of the kingdom ; but *Philip* king of *Spain* disputed it with him, in that *Antony* was born of a woman of ignoble birth, whom he pretended *Lewis* his father had espoused without the king's consent, who had caused it to be declared by the states of the kingdom, that the children which might be born of this marriage, should not succeed to the crown. But the duke of *Braganza* pretended to exclude *Philip* as being a foreigner, though having the same claim, because the duke was born in *Portugal* of an elder branch : but *Philip*, being the strongest, seized the kingdom, and defeated *Antony*, who retired into *France*, and there died, under the reign of *Henry IV.*

It may not be improper here to observe, that *Philip II.*, *Philip III.* his son, and *Philip IV.* his grandson, kings of *Spain*, reigned in *Portugal* from 1580, to the year 1640 ; when the *Portuguese* shook off the yoke of *Spain*, and elected for their king *John* duke of *Braganza*, chief of that house. He was descended, two hundred years before, in the male line, from *Alphonso* duke of *Braganza*, bastard of *Edward* king of *Portugal*, and from *donna Catharina*, daughter of *don Duarte*, the brother of king *Henry* the last deceased : whereas the king of *Spain* was only the son of *Isabella*, the sister of *don Henry* and *don Duarte*, whose daughter, but for the power of *Philip II.*, would have been preferred to him. *John*, being aided by the forces of *France*, maintained himself in the possession of this kingdom ; where his son *Peter* Prince of *Portugal* afterwards reigned under the title of prince regent, the king his brother having been declared incapable of the government.

The duke of *Anjou* had raised in *France* eight thousand foot and a thousand horse, with the permission of the king his brother, who ardently desired to see him quit *France* with those who were attached to him. He entered *Flanders* with his troops: the states
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of the *Low Countries*, who had desired him to take them under his protection, had concluded a treaty with him, by which they gave him the sovereign command of the army, and engaged to acknowledge him for their prince and sovereign lord, in case they should take a resolution to chuse any other than the king of *Spain*. The *French Troops* made no great progress, but they prevented what the *Spaniards* might have done against the confederates.

Towards the end of this year *René de Birague*, chancellor of *France*, having been raised to the dignity of a cardinal, resigned the seals to the king, and his majesty gave them to *Philip Hurault de Chiverny*, who was afterwards chancellor.

The first day of the year 1579 is remarkable for the establishment of the knights of the order of the *Holy Ghost*. That of *Saint Michael* had been given to so many persons, even of mean birth, that it was in disgrace, which determined the king to create a new order, under the title of the *Holy Ghost*. The knights were at first an hundred in number, including the king, who is the sovereign, and the officers of the order, which are the grand almoner, the chancellor, the master of the ceremonies, the high treasurer, the greffier, and the porter. They were all called knights commanders, because the king's design was to take a part of the revenues from the most considerable abbies, therewith to found commanderies, which should be given to the knights of the *Holy Ghost*, in imitation of the commanderies of *Spain*. But he could not obtain the pope's consent for the execution of this design, because the whole clergy of *France* opposed it. He nevertheless, says *de Thou*, called these new knights commanders, that posterity might know what had been his intention. One of the principal statutes of this order is, that the knights swear to live and die in the Apostolick and Roman-Catholick religion.

This year *Lewis de Clermont de Buffly d'Amboise* was assassinated by the count de *Montforeau*. *Buffly*, proud of his birth, and the fear in which he kept

the gentry, to whom he had rendered himself terrible by several private combats, wherein he had always had the advantage, was universally hated by persons of rank throughout the kingdom, for his pride and insolence, and by the people for the outrages he had committed on them in divers governments which he had had, and principally in that of the town and castle of *Angers*, which he then possessed. He became enamoured of the wife of the count *de Montforeau*, a man of great quality in *Anjou*, and a great lover of hunting. *Buffy* wrote, in confidence, to the duke of *Anjou*, telling him he had made himself master of the heart of this lady, and making use of this expression: *That he had at last taken in his toils the beast of the great huntsman.*

The duke of *Anjou* shewed this letter to the king, who kept it, and resolved to make use of it for the ruin of *Buffy*. He shewed it to the count *de Montforeau*, saying, if he was a man of spirit, he would revenge the injury, and giving him to understand that he had his leave to attempt any thing for the destruction of *Buffy*.

The count secretly went home, and obliged his wife to write a letter to *Buffy*, wherein she desired him to come and see her, and assured him that he would find her alone. *Buffy* came, and, immediately upon his entering the lady's apartment, he was attacked by several armed men, against whom he long defended himself; but at last, finding his strength fail, he threw himself out of the window, and at that moment received a thrust with a sword through the body, of which he fell dead into the mote. Some say, that, his coat having caught upon some iron spikes under the window, he hung upon them, and was there killed.

The *Switzers* had long pressed the king to take the city of *Geneva* under his protection, saying, that, by the treaty of alliance, the kings of *France* were obliged to protect the *Swiss Cantons* and their allies, and that, this city having become their ally, they were obliged to desire the king to grant it the same favour.

favour. The fear of giving the league a pretence to complain had till now prevented the king from declaring himself thereupon: but at last, *Nicholas de Harlay Sancy*, his ambassador at *Switzerland*, having shewn him it was of importance to grant the *Switzers* this request, in order to attach them more strongly to the interests of *France*, his majesty therefore did grant it them. The alliance was renewed between *France* and the *Swiss Cantons*, the city of *Geneva* was included in the number of their allies, and put under the king's protection: and thus it was for ever secured against the pretensions of its bishop and the duke of *Savoy*, who pretend to be sovereigns of it.

The duke of *Anjou* had been several times into *England* to gain the good graces of the queen, and her consent to espouse him; but in vain. The last time he was there, he carried the affair so far, that this princess received a ring from him, and gave him a wand, whereby she engaged herself to him: even the contract of marriage was prepared and sent to the king to be signed: but, whether the queen repented her having engaged herself, or whether she apprehended giving herself a master in an husband; or, lastly, whether she feared displeasing her subjects, she, however, would never complete the marriage: and she made the king's refusal to declare war against *Spain* before its accomplishment a pretence to break it off: for it had been agreed by one of the articles of the treaty, that *France* and *England* should at the same time declare war against *Spain*. The queen was for having this war declared before the marriage; but the king would not consent to do it till after: whereupon she broke it off. The duke of *Anjou* took his leave of her upon very gracious terms, and left *London* with a considerable quantity of men and money, to go and take possession of the *Low Countries*, which, in an assembly of their states, had elected him their sovereign prince, after having declared the king of *Spain* divested of all right.

The duke of *Anjou*, upon his arrival, obliged *Alexander Farnese*, prince of *Parma*, governor of the *Low Countries*.

Countries for the king of *Spain*, to raise the siege of *Cambray*; from which place he went to *Antwerp*, where he made a solemn entry, and was proclaimed duke of *Brabant* with great ceremony; the prince of *Orange* investing him with the ducal mantle, and placing the ducal crown upon his head, in presence of all the orders assembled.

Some days after a *Spaniard*, named *John Faureguy*, wounded the prince of *Orange*, in the midst of his guards, with a pistol-shot, under the ear. This wretch was habited like a *Frenchman*, which made the guards take him for one of that nation; and, after having killed him, they also killed some other *French*, and the tumult increased to such a degree, that the duke of *Anjou* was in danger of his life; for the people began to think the *French* designed to make another *Saint Bartholomew* at *Antwerp*, and were proceeding to oppose by way of prevention. But at last, letters being found upon *Faureguy*, which proved him to be a *Spaniard*, and that he had been gained by the *Spanish* ministers to assassinate the prince of *Orange*, the tumult ceased, but the duke of *Anjou* always retained a great resentment of it.

The prince of *Orange*'s wound was healed: but at the same time his wife, *Charlotte de Bourbon*, fell sick, and died soon after. Her grief for her husband's wound, which was very dangerous, the fear of losing him, and the fatigue which she gave herself by watching continually with him, had caused her distemper. She was the daughter of the duke of *Montpensier*, had been abbess of the monastery of *Jouars*, wherein her father had placed her from her infancy, and had afterwards obliged her, against her inclination, to embrace the religious life: but at last, being unable to continue in a state which had been thus imposed on her, she quitted the monastery, and fled into *Germany* to *Casimer*, the elector *Palatine*, who refused to give her up to her father the duke of *Montpensier*, by whom she was demanded, unless the king, by an authentick and publick act, would engage to defend her from all violence,

violence, and maintain her in the liberty of professing the reformed religion, which she had embraced. But, the duke *de Montpensier* vehemently opposing his, she continued at the court of the elector, where the prince of *Orange* married her, being his third wife. Her death was regretted, not only by the prince her husband, to whom she was very dear, but, for her virtue, by the publick in general.

In the mean time *France* was at peace, and enjoyed the tranquillity of a great calm; during which, the king, minding nothing but his pleasures, became daily more contemptible in the eyes of his subjects; while, on the contrary, the duke of *Guise* lost no opportunity of ingratiating himself with the people, gaining their affection, and abasing the princes of the blood, who, indeed, were already very low, from the poverty of their possessions.

The king of *Spain* being alarmed at the successes of the duke of *Anjou*, and judging he should never be a peaceable possessor of the *Low Countries*, unless *France* was divided by a civil war, he strongly solicited the duke of *Guise* and the league to commence a war in the kingdom at all events; but the duke of *Anjou* was an obstacle to their designs, for he had the hearts of the *French* gentlemen, who bore arms under him, and, should he perceive any enterprizes forming against the royal house, had power enough to ruin that of *Guise*. It was therefore resolved to destroy him. The person chosen to execute this resolution was *Nicholas Salseda*, son of a *Spaniard*, who had long been in *France*. *Salseda*, having received his instructions, went with a company of foot to *Antwerp* to offer his service to the duke of *Anjou*. He was well received; but, the prince of *Orange* having discovered that *Salseda* in his way to *Antwerp* had passed through the *Spanish* camp, suspected some treachery, and advised the duke of *Anjou* to have him seized: which being done, and being menaced with the rack, he declared that he had been solicited by the duke of *Guise*, and some of the king's principal ministers (among others, *Villeroy*, the secretary of state) to kill the duke of *Anjou*: and, besides this, he discovered a conspi-

conspiracy against the king by the *Guise's* and some others ; and said, the conspirators design was to confine the king in a monastery, and that cardinal *Pilelevus*, archbishop of *Sens*, had solicited pope *Gregory XIII*, to consent to this enterprize, and approve the execution of it. *Salseda* was conducted to *Paris*, where he declared that every thing he had said at *Antwerp* and *Bruges* was false, and that a dread of the tortures with which he had been menaced had caused him to speak as he did.

The first president was of opinion he should be kept in perpetual imprisonment, that, if any thing should be afterwards discovered concerning the conspiracy, he might serve to convict the accomplices. But the king ordered him to be tried before the parliament, who condemned him to be torn to pieces by four horses. Being put to the rack before his execution, at which the king was present, though concealed behind some tapestry, he confessed the same things he had said at *Antwerp* ; but upon his arrival in the prison, to which he was remanded after the torture, he disavowed all he had said, protested the *Guise's* were innocent, and that he had accused them falsely. *De Thou* says, he was persuaded to retract thus by a *Jesuit*, who accompanied him from the place of torture to the prison ; but, however this might be, he persisted to his death in this last declaration, always affirming that every thing he had said about the conspiracy was false. He was executed the same day, and the king saw him suffer from the windows of the *Maison de Ville*.

A few days after died the first president *de Thou*, aged seventy-five years. The king gave his place to *Achilles de Harlay*, president of parliament, who then presided in that of *Auvergne*. He had espoused *Catharine de Thou*, daughter of the deceased.

Towards the end of this year, the king published an edict, wherein he ordered that the reformation of the calendar, in regard to the number and order of the days of the year, as regulated by pope *Gregory XIII*, who then filled the holy see, should be observed

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in *France*. The former regulation had been done by *Julius Cæsar* ; but, being deficient in some minutes, which the astronomers employed by his order had not taken into their calculation, these minutes in a course of years had amounted to ten days ; so that, in the long run, winter would have been in the months of *June, July, and August*, and so of the other seasons.

Attempts had before been made to regulate this inaccuracy in the *Nicene* council under the authority of the emperor *Constantine* ; but they had not succeeded, for want of men of skill and ability. Pope *Gregory XIII* undertook the reformation ; and, having employed the ablest mathematicians of his time therein, he published a new calendar, which the king in his edict ordered to be received. The day it was published was the 10th of *December* ; and, to commence the reformation, they computed it as the 20th of that month. This reformation was observed by almost the whole Catholick church ; but the Protestants rejected it, because it had been made by the pope.

The duke of *Anjou* being incensed at the danger he had been in at *Antwerp*, from the tumult among the people occasioned by *Jaureguy*, he resolved to make himself absolute master of that great city, wherein he had only the name of sovereign, without the authority. He caused his troops to enter the suburbs under pretence of reviewing them ; to which review curiosity drew most of the inhabitants ; during whose absence from their places of residence, a part of the army was to be detached from the main body, and seize upon the gates of the city and the citadel : but, whether the measures had been ill taken, or whether the inhabitants were upon their guard, those who made the attempt were repulsed, and many killed. The *Flemmings* immediately ran to their sluices to open them, and destroy the *French* troops by laying the country under water : but the prince of *Orange* opposed their design, and appeased them, by representing that it was impossible for them to defend themselves against the *Spaniards* without the assistance of the *French*.

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They therefore made their excuses to the duke of *Anjou*, and desired him not to abandon them; but he retired into *France*. Yet, he was scarce arrived at *Chateau-Thierry*, which belonged to him, when the deputies from the *Low Countries* arrived there also, praying him to return to them, and promising absolute obedience and submission. He was prevailed on by their intreaties: but at the same time he was seized with a very extraordinary distemper, of which he died. It was a flux of blood, which not only flowed through all the common passages of evacuation, but even through all the pores of his body; and, the flux having continued for forty days without stopping, he died of it in the month of *June* 1584, aged only thirty-one Years. His body being opened, marks of poison were found therein; which detestable crime was attributed to the *Spaniards*. A few days after the prince of *Orange* was assassinated with a pistol by *Balthazar Girard Francontois*, gained for that purpose by the same *Spaniards*.

Count *Maurice* of *Nassau* his second son, yet a child, whom he had by *Ann* of *Saxony*, the elector's daughter, was elected by the States to succeed his father in the government of the provinces of *Holland*, *Zealand*, *Friseland*, and *Utrecht*, because his eldest son had been educated and brought up in *Spain*. *Maurice* Afterwards, by his prudence, courage, and probity, shewed that that they could not have made a better choice.

The death of the duke of *Anjou*, the king's only brother, wonderfully raised the spirits of the leaguers. The preachers took the liberty of openly speaking against the indulgence shewn to the Protestants, and to exhort the Catholics to unite against them. Their discourses tended to inspire a contempt of the king's person, and of the princes of the blood, by praising the zeal and piety of the princes of the house of *Guise*. Even a book appeared at that time, wherein it was attempted to prove, that the house of *Lorraine* had a right to the crown, and that the descendants of *Hugh Capet* possessed it only by usurpation.

The

The king, though incensed at this insolence, could not prevail on himself to use the necessary means to repress it, nor to interrupt his diversions, and by a vigorous behaviour put an end to these practices. He was encouraged in this negligence and indolence by the queen his mother, who, being passionately fond of the children of the dutchess of *Lorraine* her daughter, was very well pleased to see things disposed so, that the crown might descend to the son of the duke of *Lorraine*, in case the king should die. This the duke of *Guise* gave her hopes of ; but he deceived her, for he acted only for his own private interests.

The king whose mind was disposed to do only little things, determined to shew his piety and zeal for religion by some extraordinary action. He accordingly established at *Paris* several brotherhoods of white, black, red, and other coloured penitents, and appeared himself in their ceremonies and processions cloathed in their ridiculous habit ; which, instead of producing any good effect, only served to increase the contempt already conceived of him.

Two persons at that time divided his affections and favours : which were, *Ann* duke de *Joyeuse*, and *John-Lewis*, de *Nogaret* duke d'*Espernon* ; whom he had raised to the highest rank by creating them dukes and peers of *France*, and was continually conferring benefits upon them with the greatest profusion. He had made the latter colonel of the *French* infantry, and to render the post more considerable, had erected it into an office of the crown. Mutual jealousy had rendered these two Lords enemies to each other : they were differently attached by their different interests ; *Joyeuse* to the duke of *Guise*, and *Espernon* to the duke of *Navarre*. The king, who was alternately influenced by both, knew not what to resolve, and would sooner have abandoned the government, than displease either of his favourites.

The duke d'*Espernon* had prudence and moderation, and supported his fortune by great merit : but the duke de *Joyeuse* was vain, elated, and without any good quality.

The

The king knowing the bad designs of the duke of *Guise*, and not having himself vigour enough to oppose them, he resolved to send for the king of *Navarre* to court, whom he judged alone capable to restrain the ambition of this duke. He accordingly sent the duke d'*Espernon* to persuade him to come and take the rank which belonged to him, which was usurped by the enemies of his house; but *Espernon* could not in the least prevail on this prince in regard to religion, a change of which he proposed to him as a condition without which he could not come to court. This conference served the partizans of the duke of *Guise* with a pretence to inflame the minds of the people against the king, principally by means of the preachers, who solicited their auditors to provide for the security of religion. They said, that, if the king should die, an heretick might seize the crown, and exercise all kinds of violence upon the Catholicks; and, that this might make a stronger impression upon their minds, a number of images were exposed in publick, wherein were represented the sufferings of the Catholicks at that time in *England*, to punish them for a conspiracy which they were accused of having formed against the queen. These images were exposed in the most frequented parts of the city; and while, the people were considering them with an extraordinary attention, persons were there ready to explain to them what was represented, and to tell them that the same persecutions would soon appear in *France*, if the *Bearnean* was not excluded from the succession to the crown. The duke of *Guise* was the first who spoke in this manner, always under the disguise of zeal for religion, in defence of which he protested he would lose his life.

But to exclude the king of *Navarre* from the succession, it was necessary to oppose some one against him, who should have some apparent right, and of whom they might afterwards easily rid themselves. The cardinal de *Bourbon* was judged proper for this purpose, being, after the king of *Navarre* and the princes of *Condé*, the nearest to the crown. The duke

of

of *Guise* persuaded him that these princes had lost their right by engaging in heresy, and that this right being devolved upon him, he ought to take the title of presumptive heir to the crown. For this purpose he offered him the whole credit of the house of *Lorraine*, and inspired him with hopes that, though he was old and a bishop, he might marry, for that the pope would easily grant him his dispensation : and he from that time promised him his sister *Catharine* of *Lorraine*, widow of the duke *de Montpensier*. The cardinal, being deceived by these flattering appearances, took the title of first prince of the blood and presumptive heir to the crown.

At the beginning of the year 1585 a treaty was concluded at *Joinville*, between the king of *Spain*, the cardinal *de Bourbon*, and the dukes of *Guise* and *Mayenne* ; whereby the king of *Spain* obliged himself to protect the league, and furnish it with 50000 crowns a month to carry on the war against the Protestants, and maintain the cardinal *de Bourbon* in his right as heir to the crown, in case the king should die without children. The duke of *Guise* promised, in the name of the league, immediately to commence the war against the Protestants, which the king of *Spain* strongly solicited, because the deputies from the states of the *Low Countries*, who were at *Paris*, had demanded the king's protection, and had offered to acknowledge him for their sovereign.

The duke of *Guise*, without losing time, put himself at the head of some troops which he had in *Champagne*, seized, in the name of the league, upon the towns of *Metz*, *Toul*, and *Verdun*, and every where exterminated the Protestants. This procedure having alarmed the king, he answered the deputies from the *Low Countries*, that he could not assist them at present, but that he would desire the queen of *England* to send them succours.

At the same time a request was presented to the king, in the name of the league, signed by the cardinal *de Bourbon* and the duke of *Guise* demanding war to be declared against the Protestants, and any
other

other religion than the Catholick to be interdicted throughout the kingdom, on pain of death. The king, being unable to refuse a demand made by those who had the power in their own hands, published an edict conformable to their request. After the publication of this edict in parliament, the king sent for the cardinal *de Guise* brother to the duke, the first president of the parliament, accompanied by another president, the provost, and the dean of *Paris*; and, upon their arrival at the *Louvre*, he spoke to them in the following manner; beginning what he said with a smiling countenance, but concluding with a tone of voice, and air of countenance which shewed his indignation: "I applaud," said he to them, "the zeal which you have shewn for religion, which caused you to press me with such eagerness to declare war against the hereticks: in compliance with your desires, I have declared it, and I am resolved to pursue it with honour, and employ therein my utmost care and force: but, as I have occasion for your assistance, I hope you will not refuse it me: for it would be unjust that the whole expence of a war undertaken at your request should fall upon me: do you therefore, Mr. first president, make it known to all the officers of parliament, that, so long as the war continues, their salaries shall not be paid, but shall be expended towards defraying the expences of the war: you, the provost, I declare to you, that for the same purpose, I take the rents of the hotel *de Ville*: and you, cardinal *de Guise*, acquaint your brethren the clergy, that I am resolved to take from the revenues of their benefices what I shall judge proper, without waiting for your assemblies, deliberations, or the pope's consent: the necessity is too urgent to lose any time in these needless formalities."

This speech only served to shew that the king was incensed at having been obliged to begin the war; for it was followed by no effect; and the duke of *Guise*, finding by this means that he might act with impunity

impunity against the king's authority, became the more bold in attempting new enterprizes.

In the mean time cardinal *Pelleus* who was at *Rome*, had frequently pressed the pope to condemn the king of *Navarre*, and the prince of *Condé* as relapsed into heresy ; and he at last prevailed on *Sixtus V.*, who had succeeded *Gregory XIII.*, to have the sentence pronounced and published against them.

This pope was of mean extraction, and his parents were so poor, that he gloried in being born of the most illustrious house in the world, which not having even an hut to live in, was illustrated on all sides by the sun. From his youth he had been a *Cordelier*, and was taken from that state to be a cardinal : and at last his rare merit and address replaced him in the papal chair. The desire of providing for the safety of the Catholick religion, which according to the reports of the emissaries of the duke of *Guise*, appeared to be in great danger in *France*, determined *Sixtus* to pronounce the sentence of excommunication against the king of *Navarre* and the prince of *Condé*, as being relapsed into heresy. He declared them incapable of all honours, and divested them of all right to any principality, especially the kingdom of *France* ; and he menaced with excommunication whoever should assist them with forces, or even aid them with their counsel.

The day after the publication of this sentence, there were found fixed on the statues of *Pasquin* and *Marforio*, and other the most frequented places in *Rome*, an appeal from the pope's sentence to the court of peers of *France*, to which alone belonged the right of judging these princes. Herein it was said that *Sixtus*, who called himself pope, had falsely and maliciously published an untruth by calling them hereticks, because he only is an heretick who persists in a wrong doctrine after having been instructed in the right ; that these princes had never been properly instructed ; that no proper attempt had ever been made to make them sensible of their error ; and that therefore they could not be condemned as hereticks, The
utmost

utmost endeavours were used to discover the author of this bold writing, but in vain : though it was afterwards known to be *James Bongars*, who is the author of some letters.

The pope, instead of appearing highly incensed at this injurious action, shewed that he hereby conceived a favourable opinion of the fortune of the king of *Navarre*, and said, “ It was a strong intimation of the success of this prince, to have an immediate avenger of an injury done him in a country so distant from where he was.”

This pope was a man of admirable understanding and greatness of soul : he soon discovered in the king of *Navarre* and the queen of *England* the same qualities which he possessed himself : he equally admired this prince and princess, and frequently said, “ That in all the Christian world he knew but one man and one woman worthy to reign, and to whom he thought he might communicate the great designs he had formed against the *Turk* for the service of Christianity ; but that their engagements in the heresy not only prevented him from having any intercourse with them, but also compelled him to act against them with all his power, as against the enemies of the church.”

The people were in Arms throughout all the provinces of *France* : the inhabitants of *Paris*, being incensed at the design which the king had declared of seizing the rents of the *hotel de Ville*, and being continually animated by the emissaries of the duke of *Guise*, formed a design, equally rash, foolish, and impious, to make themselves masters of the *Bastile*, the *Louvre*, and all the most considerable places in the city, to seize the person of the king, to kill the chancellor and the other ministers, and then to give the government of the state to such persons as were well affected to the league. The duke of *Guise* being at this time absent, for he was prosecuting the war in *Champagne*, these conspirators addressed themselves to his brother the duke of *Mayenne*, discovered their design to him, and desired him to undertake the

conduct

conduct of it, and give his orders for the execution. They declared to him that there were none but himself able to assist the league and religion, and begged him therefore not to fail them, when his service was necessary.

The duke of *Mayenne* promised to sacrifice even his life for the service of religion; but said, he would wait to see the event of the enterprize, and refused to appear in it till it should have succeeded, that, in case it should fail, he might be able to vindicate himself against any accusation of being concerned in it.

There was a man among the leaguers firmly attached to the king, whose name was *Poulains*: He was privy to all their resolutions, and immediately discovered them to his majesty. The king, being thus informed of their designs, prevented their taking effect by putting guards in all those places on which they had resolved to seize; and by this means he made himself master both of the city and its inhabitants.

Upon this the duke of *Mayenne*, to prevent all suspicion of being concerned in the conspiracy, went to the *Louvre*, and asked leave to take a journey into the country: the king shewed no resentment against him, but contented himself with saying, *How, cousin! will you then abandon the good leaguers of Paris?*

The conspirators, being frightened at finding their enterprize discovered, pressed the duke of *Guise* to come to *Paris*, to defend them, said they, against the tyranny of the king, who, knowing the designs they had formed against his person, would not pardon them. The duke answered them only by a severe reprimand for having formed so rash an enterprize, and for having dared to take any resolution without waiting for his orders.

The king, being now master of the city, might have punished the conspirators, if he had had resolution to do it: but, being extremely negligent in all things, he contented himself with shewing that he knew the conspiracy, and that he had been able to prevent

prevent it; which increased the contempt and influence of the seditious, and inspired them with a presumption to make new attempts against his liberty and person.

The favour of the duke d' *Espernon* increased daily, and that of the duke de *Joyeuse* decreased: so that this last, unable to bear being a witness of his rival's happiness, asked the king for the command of the army against the king of *Navarre*; which was readily granted him. Before his departure a change happened in his house which was regarded as a presage of some great misfortune: his brother *Henry de Joyeuse* count de *Boucbage* having lost his wife, whom he passionately loved, he entered the order of *Capuchins*, and was called brother *Angelus*. We shall hereafter see this *Capuchin* quit his habit to take up arms and fight at the head of the leaguers against *Henry IV.*

The duke de *Joyeuse*, at the head of the king's army, marched against the king of *Navarre*, who was near *Perigueux*: the king of *Navarre* also advanced; and, the two armies coming up with each other near *Coutras*, a battle ensued. It began at eight in the morning, and lasted till noon: *Joyeuse* was defeated and killed, together with his brother *Claudius de Saint Sauveur*, and a great number of persons of distinction. But the slaughter was not great, the king of *Navarre* being desirous to spare the vanquished, and increase the glory of his victory by clemency. He caused the prisoners to be treated with the utmost humanity, and thereby gained their affections.

In the year 1588 the pope thundered forth a sentence against the queen of *England*, declaring her criminal and unworthy of the kingdom she had usurped: he invited all the nations of *Europe* to punish her, promised a recompence to whoever would put her to death, and gave her kingdom to the king of *Spain*: and *Philip* to take possession of it, equipped the greatest fleet that ever had been seen upon the ocean, the command of which he gave to the duke of *Parma*. But the whole of this mighty armament was

was of no effect ; for the duke of *Parma* was scarce arrived within sight of *England*, when a tempest which suddenly arose, destroyed the whole fleet, excepting a few ships which were defeated and taken by the *English*. When the king of *Spain* was informed of this misfortune and the return of the duke of *Parma*, he said, coldly and without being moved, *I did not send him to fight against the winds.*

The cause of the pope's publishing this sentence against queen *Elizabeth* was the death of *Mary Stuart* queen of *Scotland*, whom she had caused to be beheaded. This princess having been queen of *France*, it may not be improper here to take a review of her history, from the death of *Francis II.* her husband, to her own.

The History of Mary Stuart Queen of Scotland.

“ AS soon as *Francis II* was dead, *Mary Stuart* his widow a princess of great Beauty, retired into *Scotland*, where she was received by her subjects with very different sentiments ; some hoping she would re-establish the Catholick religion, and others, in greater number, fearing lest she should do it. Of the number of the latter was *James* the queen's natural brother, a man of great probity and merit, who could be blamed for nothing but being engaged in the heresy : he, indeed, had contributed the most towards abolishing the Catholick religion in *Scotland*.

Mary, after having heard the sentiments of the greatest men in the kingdom touching the differences with *England*, and the right she had to succeed to that crown, sent an ambassy to *Elizabeth*, demanding that she would cause an act to be passed in parliament, declaring that after her the queen of *Scotland* should succeed to the crown. *Elizabeth* being extremely shocked at this proposal, replied, that she had expected a different ambassy from a princess who was her ally : and sent the ambassadors away without any other answer. After many negotiations, a treaty was at last concluded between the two crowns,

upon these Conditions : that the queen of *Scotland* should not assume the arms and Titles of the kingdoms of *England* and *Ireland* during the life of *Elizabeth*, or her children, in case she had any : and that the queen of *England* should take care to do nothing which might tend to weaken the right which the queen of *Scotland* had to the crown of *England*. This Treaty was concluded in the Year 1561.

The year following the queen concluded a match for *James* her natural brother, and gave him the county of *Murray*, which name he always bore. Yet she did not continue long upon good terms with him ; but, following the counsel of her uncles the duke and the cardinal of *Guise*, she undertook to destroy him, because he appeared too powerful, and by his merit had gained the favour of the people.

The *Scots* were extremely desirous to have their queen married. Several persons, both in her own kingdom and in *England*, were proposed to her. But, paying no regard to these proposals, she cast her eyes upon *Henry Stuart-Darley*, son of the earl of *Lenox*. This young man, one of the handsomest of his time, was of the house of *Stuart*, into which the crown had descended ; but this branch was extremely low ; and the *Scots* were desirous to have one for king who should be more considerable. Nevertheless the queen married him : but she soon after began to despise him, deprived him of all power in the government, and had no longer any other counsellor therein than *David Rizzo*, a young *Italian* of mean birth, whose sole merit was singing agreeably. He was continually with the queen, and was more familiar with her than decency permitted.

Rizzo, being blinded by his fortune, by his pride elevated himself above the greatest lords, and even disputed it with the king in the magnificence of his train and furniture, and still more by the rank in which he stood with the queen, which drew upon him the hatred of all. The king being incensed at his behaviour, resolved to destroy so worthless a person, who was a dishonour to the kingdom and the royal house. One evening therefore, when *Rizzo*

supped

supped with the queen, the king entered with a number of armed men, and commanded *Rizzo* to rise from table: the queen immediately threw herself between him and the armed men who began to approach him; but the king having taken the queen in his arms, *Rizzo* was carried into the next room, and there killed. The queen's passion for this man was so violent, even after his death, that she caused his corpse to be disinterred and put in the sepulchre of the king her father. She preserved a violent desire to revenge his death, which she at last satisfied, as we shall see hereafter. Soon after *Rizzo's* death she was delivered of a son. The count *de Bothwell* succeeded *Rizzo*, and was soon in as great credit with the queen as the former.

The king who after the death of *Rizzo* had never seen the queen, fell sick; and the physicians judged the cause to proceed from poison. It reduced him almost to extremity: but, the strength of his constitution having subdued that of the poison, he grew better, and caused himself to be removed to *Edinburgh*, in order to be reconciled to the queen, who had shewn herself desirous of it. She caused him to be lodged in an old house that was very much out of repair, where she came to see him, and shewed him all the apparent marks of a real friendship. But two days after he was strangled in his bed by men sent by the count *de Bothwell* for that purpose: and the house was at the same time blown up by a mine which had been made under it. Some say, the king was not strangled, but that he perished through the effect of the mine. It was immediately reported at court, that the earl of *Murray* was author of this assassination; which the people believing, the same account was carried into *England*, and *France*: but soon after the world was undeceived, and the count *de Bothwell* was known to be the real murderer of the king. Anno 1567.

The horror conceived of *Bothwell* for this detestable crime did not prevent the queen from espousing him, after having caused him to be declared innocent

by the forms of justice. This marriage entirely lost the queen the love of her subjects and the esteem of foreigners.

The nobility of *Scotland*, joining against the murderer of their king (so they called *Bothwell*), armed themselves, and took the field. The queen marched against them at the head of her troops; but having imprudently entered their camp, in confidence that they would receive her with respect, they seized upon her person, and brought her in triumph to *Edinburgh*, bearing a Standard before her, whereon was portrayed the deceased king. By a resolution of an assembly of the Lords, she was kept in prison. The count *de Bothwell* was tried, and condemned to die, as guilty of the murder of the king: but he fled out of the kingdom.

The confederates pressed the queen to resign the crown in favour of her son, and give the government of the kingdom to whichever of the lords she should think proper. She consented to this proposal; and named for regent of the kingdom the earl of *Murray*, who was then in *France*, where he had retired, when the queen was seized, in order to avoid having any concern in what should be done against her, though he thought they could do nothing that could be too violent.

Mary before she resigned the kingdom, made a solemn, though secret, protestation against her resignation, which her subjects forced from her by violence. *James VI*, son of *Mary*, was proclaimed king of *Scotland* the 9th of *July* 1567, and the earl of *Murray* viceroy during the minority of the young prince. About a year after the queen escaped out of prison; and, many of the people having joined her, she published the protestation she had made against the violence of her subjects; and her resignation was declared void by those, who, being with her, pretended to represent the nobles and gentry of the kingdom. In ten days she assembled seven thousand men and marched with them against her opposers. The viceroy gave her battle with four thousand men, and

gained

gained a victory, the 13th of *May*, 1568. When *Mary*, from an eminence where she beheld the engagement, saw her forces were defeated, she immediately proceeded towards *England*; and when she arrived on the frontiers, she acquainted queen *Elizabeth* with the state of her affairs, and put her person and fortune under her protection. But this resolution was not approved by her most faithful servants, who advised her rather to go into *France*.

Elizabeth was for some time in doubt how to act. She was sensible it would be uncivil not to receive a queen who fled to her; but she also judged it dangerous to receive into *England* a princess who pretended that the kingdom of right belonged to her. At last she caused *Mary* to be assured that she would voluntarily employ all her forces to reinstate her in her dominions: but she at the same time desired her not to proceed any farther into *England*, and appointed her a guard, which never quitted her; so that she was really a prisoner, though not confined in a prison.

The queen of *England* sent ambassadors into *Scotland* to endeavour the re-establishment of *Mary*; but they did but little. *Mary* on her side sent thither *James Hamilton*, the head of his house, which was the most illustrious in *Scotland*. She conferred on him the title of her lieutenant-general in the kingdom, and adopted him for her father (an action before unheard of). *Hamilton*, who had been in a manner exiled from his native country, was ravished at returning thither with such honourable titles: but he did nothing that answered the queen's expectation.

In the mean time *Mary*, perceiving there were great divisions in *England* among the great men of the kingdom, endeavoured to gain some of them in order to make use of them upon occasion against the queen. She easily gained the duke of *Norfolk* in her interests, who was the most considerable among them, by promising to marry him. This lord, being a stranger to dissimulation, and too easily giving way to so flattering an hope, asked leave of *Elizabeth* to espouse the queen of *Scotland*, declaring

to her that he had the consent of that princess. This demand, and the correspondence between *Mary* and the duke of *Norfolk*, encreased the suspicions of *Elizabeth*, and persuaded her that some design was formed against her. She therefore imprisoned the duke, and some time after caused him to be beheaded : and from that time the queen of *Scotland* was confined and guarded with the greatest care. *Anno 1570.*

About the same time the earl of *Murray* was killed by a pistol shot from one of the *Hamiltons*. *De Thou* gives us the elogy of this earl, as being a man endowed with every virtue, and one whose only view upon all occasions was to do justice and act for the publick good.

The queen of *Scotland* remained in prison six years after the death of the duke of *Norfolk* : during which time several conspiracies were formed against *Elizabeth*, wherein *Mary* was suspected of being concerned ; which caused *Elizabeth* to conclude that the death of this princess was necessary for the preservation of her own life. At last, in the year 1586, a new conspiracy was again discovered against the queen's life, wherein it was endeavoured to be proved that *Mary* was concerned : and accordingly the parliament appointed commissioners to try her, by whom she was condemned to death. *Pomponius de Bellievre* the ambassador from *France*, and also the ambassador from *Scotland*, interceded for her, but in vain ; for the sentence of death was executed as soon as pronounced ; and *Mary Stuart* of *Scotland*, before queen of *France*, was beheaded upon a Scaffold by the hands of a common executioner, in the forty fourth year of her age.

Elizabeth when informed of the execution, seemed grieved at it, and blamed the precipitation of the commissioners, saying, *Her intention had not been to put this princess to death, though guilty and condemned.* Thus she endeavoured, but in vain, to clear herself from the blame of so cruel an action.

After the battle of *Coutray*, those who had any connexion with the league began to speak in stronger terms

terms than before against the protestants, even in the king's presence: they made no scruple to say that the king ought to exclude the king of *Navarre* from the succession to the crown. *Peter d'Espinae* archbishop of *Lyons*, who in his youth had been a Protestant, was the person who spoke with the greatest warmth against the king of *Navarre*. This prelate, vain of his family, which was one of the best in the kingdom, and of his eloquence, frequently took the liberty to talk before the king with very little respect. One day the duke *d'Espernon*, being shocked at the insolence with which he spoke of the king of *Navarre*, in saying that he was unworthy to reign, interrupted him, by asking, whether a prelate who abused his own sister, who sold benefices, and who consumed his own and his relations revenues in debauchery, was worthy to appear in the first rank among the clergy of *France*? The archbishop being highly offended at these questions, which all turned upon himself, immediately pressed the king to justify him against these injurious calumnies: but, his demand being eluded, he conceived a violent desire of revenge upon the king himself, and from that time openly attached himself to the duke of *Guise*, and afterwards upon all occasions opposed the king, and shewed a determined resolution to displease him.

About this time died the prince of *Condé*, aged thirty-five years. *Charlotte-Catherine de la Tremouille* his wife, whom he left with child, was suspected to have poisoned him, and was prosecuted for it; but the parliament rejected the accusation.

The malecontents of *Paris* formed a new enterprise against the king's person, under the conduct of their chiefs *la Chapelle Marteau*, and *John le Clerc*. Their design was to seize the king and the duke *d'Espernon*, when they should go to *Saint Germain*; but, *Poulain* having informed the king of it, they could not put it in execution. After the discovery, they sent to acquaint the duke of *Guise*, that, if he did not come immediately to *Paris*, they should be exposed.

posed to the king's rage, who would not pardon this attempt. The duke, wearied by their continual solicitations at last drew near *Paris*. The king, being alarmed at his approach, sent *Pomponius de Bellievre* to forbid his entering the city : but he entered it notwithstanding ; and, to shew how secure he thought himself, he went to the hotel of the queen mother, which is now the hotel *de Soissons*, from whence that princess carried him to the king. He was so perfectly well acquainted with *Henry's* natural timidity, that he was persuaded he would not dare to attempt any thing against his person. He at first asked his pardon for having come contrary to his orders, saying, he had not been able longer to bear that his innocence should be aspersed by the false reports which were made to his majesty, and that he came to justify himself, and to suffer any punishment that should be inflicted on him, if it could be proved that he had failed in his fidelity to the king, for whom he was ready to sacrifice his life. The king contented himself with bidding him take care that his actions were suitable to his words.

Pope *Sixtus V* equally blamed the duke of *Guise's* temerity in thus coming to the king after he had offended him, and the king's easiness in suffering him freely to quit the *Louvre* : and, when he was told this latter, he could not help making the following exclamation : *O weak and unthinking prince, not to take advantage of the opportunity to destroy his enemy !*

The king would not after this listen to any thing concerning the conspiracy, and long despised the information given him by *Poulains*, who offered to be confronted with the chiefs of the leaguers, and even with the duke of *Guise* himself. But, at last the truth of it becoming so evident that all perceived it, the king ordered the regiment of his guards and about four thousand *Switzers*, to enter *Paris*. They were disposed in the most advantageous places, without any resistance, except in the square of *Maubert*, where a number of the lowest of the people was assembled in
arms,

arms. The soldiers were beginning to charge them, when they received orders from the king not to kill or wound any person whatsoever.

These orders having tied up the hands of the soldiers, the inhabitants seeing themselves spared, imagined it proceeded from fear; which inspiring them with courage, they every where took up arms, put chains across the streets barricadoed with casks, and attacked the king's troops in those places where they were posted.

The king at first commanded the duke of *Guise* to quit *Paris*: but, the tumult encreasing, and the soldiers besieged in their posts being on the point of being cut to pieces, the king sent to desire him to stay, and use his influence to save the troops from the danger they were in.

Upon this the duke quitted his hotel, and went into all those places where there was any tumult. As soon as he appeared in the streets, all things became quiet; the people received him with acclamations of joy, crying out *Long live the duke of Guise, exterminator of the Hugonots!* The women fell upon their knees before him, and pressed to kiss his garments: the barricadoes and chains were taken away, and the soldiers were permitted to retire. Such was the battle, if it can be so called, of barricadoes, on the 10th or 11th of *May*; wherein the duke of *Guise* saw, with a pleasure which increased his temerity, that he had more power than the king himself in the capital of his kingdom.

The next night the mutineers placed guards in all the squares and principal streets; and the watchword being given to them, according to custom, by the provost, they refused it, and went to ask it of the duke of *Guise*, who gave it, and by so doing openly declared himself a rebel against the king. In the morning his majesty was assured that the *Parisians* designed to send eight thousand men to invest the *Louvre* on that side next the country, and then seize upon his person. The insolence they had shewn

the day before making him conclude they might proceed to this extremity, he quitted the *Louvre* about noon on foot, followed only by two or three persons, as if to walk in the gardens of the *Thuilleries*. He took horse there, and fled to *Chartres* with great precipitation. As soon as the duke of *Guise* was informed of his retreat, he went to the queen mother, and expressed great concern at the king's flight, who, said he, was alarmed and suspected the fidelity of his subjects without any reason.

He afterwards visited the heads of the parliament, and said the same thing to them. He remonstrated to them, that the parliament ought to do nothing which might incense the people, because they were already so irritated against them, that he would not be answerable for their lives, if they should take any resolution which might displease them. The first president *de Harlay* frankly told him, that he would do what he thought his duty; and the duke of *Guise* insisting that he ought to consider his own safety, he replied, that this was not so material as to give proofs of his fidelity to the king, wherein he was resolved not to fail.

The next day the duke of *Guise* seized the *Bastille* and the castle of *Vincennes*, and caused the provost and all the city officers who were attached to the king to be imprisoned. In place of the former he put *Chapelle*, one of the most turbulent among the mutineers, and also named other officers. The parliament at the same time sent deputies to the king to assure him of their fidelity, and that all those who composed it were ready to obey the orders which his majesty should please to send them.

The queen mother began to negotiate a peace between the king and the duke of *Guise*; which his majesty was so impatient to conclude, that the articles were agreed on in a few days. The king by an edict declared that he pardoned the city of *Paris* whatever it had done contrary to its lawful obedience, and that he would himself be chief of the league against the protestants. He ordered
that

that all the officers of the crown, and the magistrates, and whoever should be required, should take oath to prevent with all their power an heretick prince from succeeding to the crown, in case he should die without male children. He granted towns of security to the league, to be kept by those who were best affected to the party, as pledges of his promise. The edict was published in the parliament of *Paris* the 18th of *July*.

The king, by a secret article, agreed to give the post of constable to the duke of *Guise*: and he in effect gave him the authority of it, though under another title. He by letters patent gave him the sovereign command of the army; but neither the king, who granted it, nor the duke, who received it, were pleased. The king thought it was doing too much, and became incensed against the persons, who advised him to grant this from the necessity of the times: he obliged the chancellor *Chiverny*, *Villeroy* the secretary of state, and *Bellevue*, who had negotiated the treaty, to retire from court. On the other side, the duke of *Guise* was shocked at the king's having refused him the title of constable, and made no scruple to say that he would obtain it from the assembly of the states, in spite of his majesty.

The duke *d'Espernon*, perceiving that the king began to cool in his affection for him, and fearing lest he should soon pass from coolness to aversion, judged it adviseable to retire from court; and he went accordingly into *Angoumois*, of which he was governor. Soon after, the principal inhabitants of the city of *Angoulesme* having conspired against him, they attacked the castle where he lived: he defended himself a long time with his domesticks, but would at last have been overpowered, if an extraordinary good fortune had not brought the king of *Navarre* to his relief.

This prince by accident passing near the city of *Angoulesme*, and being informed of what was doing, he immediately went with some troops, and rescued the duke *d'Espernon* from the danger he was in.

The

The king abetted this action of the inhabitants of *Angoulesme*, and declared they had done nothing but by his orders. Nevertheless, this declaration which so plainly demonstrated to the duke d'*Espernon* the king's intention to destroy him, did not induce him to listen to the proposals of the king of *Navarre*, who pressed him to join his party.

The chancellor *Chiverny* having been obliged to retire from court, the seals were given to *Francis de Monthelon*, advocate in parliament, the son of him who had been keeper of the seals under *Francis I*; but they did him no great honour.

In the month of *October* the king opened the assembly of the states at *Blois* by a speech, wherein he spoke with inveighing vehemence against the ambition of the duke of *Guise*, though without naming him, and against the revolt of the leaguers, and openly declared that he expected satisfaction for their past disobedience. As most of the deputies were attached to the league and the duke of *Guise*, they were extremely shocked at this speech; and, being informed the king intended to have it printed, they deputed the archbishop of *Lyons* to desire his majesty to strike out every thing therein that was injurious to them; and, the king refusing to do this, the archbishop had the insolence to tell him, with a menacing air, that they were all resolved to retire, unless this request was granted them. The king at last complied, and altered whatever they desired in the speech.

About the same time information was received that the duke of *Savoy* had seized upon the marquisate of *Salucio*. It was readily concluded, that so weak a prince as this would never have dared to commit such an outrage against *France*, without being supported by other forces than his own: and accordingly, as it was soon after discovered that the king of *Spain*, in concert with the duke of *Guise*, had excited the duke of *Savoy* to make this attempt.

The king proposed to the states to declare war against the duke of *Savoy*; and all the gentry shewed an ardent desire to take arms against this prince: but the

the leaguers opposed it, alledging that it was better to employ the national forces in exterminating the hereticks, than in carrying on war against a Catholick prince.

The gentry shewed themselves so disgusted at this impertinent reason, that at last the duke of *Guise* changed his resolution, and caused a general consent to be given to the war against *Savoy*: but at the same time he sent to assure this prince, that he need not be alarmed at war's being declared as he would be answerable that nothing should be attempted against him.

The king, who was extremely penetrating in discovering the secrets of his enemies, was acquainted with all the proceedings of the duke of *Guise* with the duke of *Savoy*; and, as he perceived he had no longer any hopes of bringing him to obedience by the authority of the states, with whom he had greater power than himself, he resolved to destroy him.

The states at the same time declared the king of *Navarre* excluded from the succession to the crown; and having desired the king to sign this decree, he replied, that he would think of it.

His custom was to sign on *Saturday* what the states should have prepared: the duke of *Guise* and the leaguers were therefore resolved to compel him the next *Saturday* to sign the decree; but, before this day came, so many things were done in contempt of the royal dignity, and the malecontents took such violent resolutions, that the king resolved to hasten the execution of the design he had formed to assassinate the duke of *Guise*.

The dutchess *de Montpensier*, sister to the duke, openly said, shewing a pair of scissars, which were fastened to her waist, that they would soon serve to cut off the king; and that in the place of this prince, who was an heretick in his heart, there should be a brave defender of the Catholick religion.

The king communicated his design to the marshal *de Gramont*, *Nicholas Dangennes Rambouillet*, *Antony Brichanteau*, *Beauvais Nangis*, and *Nicholas Gremonville*

villie Larchant : this last was one of the four captains of the guards du corps, whose fidelity was well known to the king.

The execution of the design was difficult ; for the duke was always surrounded by an infinite number of domesticks, gentlemen, and soldiers, in the midst of whom it was impossible to attack him : and, as these persons followed him, when he quitted his palace, and accompanied him to the gate of the king's council-chamber, he was there in the midst of such a number of his friends, that he could have nothing to fear. It was, therefore, resolved to assassinate him in the king's cabinet. The execution was proposed to *Grillon*, camp-master of the regiment of guards, a man of extraordinary boldness, and a particular enemy to the duke of *Guise* : *Grillon* offered to attack him openly in the midst of all his friends, saying, he should certainly kill him, and would not suffer him to escape ? for which he would be answerable to his majesty, were it to cost him his life ; but that he could never think of assassinating him treacherously. The king approved his reply, and only required him to be secret : instead of *Grillon*, his majesty got nine of his gentlemen in ordinary, who promised to do the deed, and kept their word. *Larchant* took upon him to dispose things so that the execution might succeed.

How secretly soever this resolution was taken, the duke of *Guise* was, nevertheless, informed of it from several different quarters. Even the day before his death, being sat down to dinner, he found a note upon his plate, advising him that the king designed to kill him : whereupon he directly called for pen and ink, and wrote under it, *He dares not* ; and, having folded the note up again, he threw it under the table, that the person who had wrote it might there find his answer.

The king was to be with his council early the next morning, having declared that he would spend the rest of the day in his devotions. Now, in order to prevent

prevent the duke of *Guise* from being surprized, when he should see a greater number of guards in the anti-chamber than ordinary, *Larchant* desired, that, when he should go to the council the next day, he might present a request to him in the name of the king's guards, desiring what was due to them might be paid. Accordingly, the next day, when he came to the council, he found *Larchant* at the foot of the stairs, and all the king's guards, who formed a double line from the bottom of the stairs to the top, under pretence of recommending their interests to him; but in reality to guard the entrance of the anti-chamber, and prevent any one from coming to the duke's relief. As soon as he was entered, he was seized with a sudden fear, which was afterwards attributed to an apprehension of his approaching misfortune; but, says *de Thou*, others, with greater probability, attributed it to his debauch the preceding night with a lady belonging to the court, his amours with that lady being by no means a secret.

The king sent to desire him to come into his cabinet, as if to communicate to him some affair of importance: but, as soon as the duke was entered into the chamber, the door was shut; and, when he had walked across it, and was lifting up the tapestry of the door of the cabinet where the king was, in order to enter it, *Saint Malin*, one of the nine gentlemen, seized his sword with one hand, and with the other stabbed him in the breast; and immediately the eight others gave him several more wounds. The duke's brother, the cardinal *de Lorraine*, was instantly imprisoned, as were also the archbishop of *Lyons*, *Charles* prince of *Joinville*, the duke's son, the dukes *de Nemours* and *d'Elbeuf*, and several others of inferior rank, who were most zealous for the league, such as *la Chapelle Marteau*, *Compan*, and *Cotte-Blanche*. Guards were appointed to keep the cardinal *de Bourbon* confined in the place of his residence.

As soon as all these things were executed, the king went into the apartment of the queen mother, and informed

informed her of the death of the duke of *Guise*, saying, *At last, madam, I am king ; the duke of Guise is dead.* This princess, in the utmost astonishment at what he said, asked him, *Whether he had foreseen the consequences of this death, and whether he had taken measures to prevent them ?*

Two days after *Lewis de Lorraine*, cardinal de *Lorraine*, shared the same fate with his brother: he was taken out of his prison, to be brought, as it was said, before the king ; and, being conducted through an obscure way, was slain by three soldiers who attended him.

Ann d'Este dutchess of *Guise*, the mother of these two princes, demanded their bodies, to inter them : but, the king fearing, with reason, lest the same honours should be paid to these bodies which are paid to the relicks of martyrs, and that the malecontents might make a spectacle of them to excite the people to new seditions, he refused to grant her request: their bodies were burnt, and the flesh and bones consumed, that so nothing might remain.

The king appointed commissioners to try the archbishop of *Lyons* ; for, though, at the request of some persons who had great power with the king, he had granted him his life, his intention was, nevertheless, to deprive him of his archbishoprick. The principal commissioners appointed by the king were the cardinal de *Gondy*, bishop of *Paris*, and the bishop of *Beauvais* : but the archbishop of *Lyons* not only refused to answer to them, but even told them, *That, if they had known their duty, they would not have pretended to question him, to whose jurisdiction they were subject.*

In the mean time the leaguers, who were spread throughout *France*, instead of being intimidated by the princes of *Guise*, were the more enraged against the king ; and, encouraging each other, they breathed nothing but the spirit of revenge, and no longer shewed any respect for his majesty. *Paris* was the place where their insolence and fury displayed itself
the

the most: the preachers made the elogies of these two princes, calling them glorious martyrs, and defenders of the faith, martyred by the tyrant *Henry of Valois*.

Their brother, the duke *de Mayenne*, was considered by the leaguers as the only man capable of being at the head of their faction; and the *Parisians* therefore desired him to come immediately into their city, and take upon him the defence of religion. The king had sent orders to colonel *d'Ornano* to seize the person of this duke; but he, having eluded the attempts of *d'Ornano*, at last arrived at *Paris*.

At the beginning of the year, 1589. *Catherine de Medicis* queen of *France*, mother of the three last kings, died at *Blois*. She seemed to have been born only for the destruction of the kingdom; soon after her death, the king dissolved the assembly of the states.

The *Parisians*, and the leaguers who were in *Paris*, ordered, that till the next assembly of the states, which was to be in *July* following, the duke *de Mayenne* should govern the kingdom in quality of lieutenant-general of the state and crown of *France*; and sixteen captains, for the sixteen quarters of the city, were appointed under him, to be the sovereign council of the league and holy Catholick union.

It appears from some of our memoirs, that their fury proceeded to such an extremity, that they made an extraordinary procession, wherein the ecclesiasticks, monks, and laymen assisted, singing canticles in honour of the holy martyrs, and uttering imprecations against the king; and that, at the conclusion of the procession, a great number of children, bearing lighted tapers, were commanded to extinguish them by holding them downwards; at the same time all who were present crying out, *Thus may the life be extinguished of the tyrant Henry of Valois!* This procession, if it was true that it was performed, was the consequence of an opinion given in the *Sorbonn*, by the faculty of theology, declaring the *French* were exempt from their oath of fidelity and obedience to *Henry of Valois*, against whom all ought to take up arms.

arms for the defence of religion: though several doctors (and, among others, the famous *James le Fevre*, a dean) refused their approbation of this conclusion; but, the discontented being the strongest, it passed in all the forms, as if the consent had been unanimous.

On the 21st of *January*, the parliament being assembled, the palace was invested by the populace in arms: *Bussy le Clerc*, a solicitor, entered with certain armed persons into the great chamber; where, after having, in derision, desired the gentlemen to excuse him, if he carried some of them to prison, he called to the first president *de Harlay*, the president *de Thou*, and some others, and commanded him to follow him to the *Bastile*. Upon this all the presidents and counsellors arose, saying, they also would follow them, and would not be separated from them: and they accordingly followed the first president, who was conducted to the *Bastile*, and entered it with him, but were made to go out again; and none were detained but those, whom it had at first been resolved to seize.

The next day the parliament assembled again: the president *Briffon* who, was concerned with the league, presided and held audience in the great chamber: he took the oath of fidelity to the league, and caused the decree to be published and registered, whereby the duke *de Mayenne* had been appointed lieutenant-general of the state and crown of *France*.

The king by an edict transferred the parliament of *Paris* to *Tours*, whither all the officers repaired who were faithful to him. The others remained at *Paris*; and the leaguers supplied the number wanting by creating new officers, particularly a solicitor-general, and two attornies-general.

Upon this, the duke *d'Espernon*, forgetting the cause of complaint he had against the king, came to his majesty, and brought with him four thousand men. The king of *Navarre* also repaired to *Tours*, where he had a conference with the king, in which he was perfectly reconciled to his majesty, and promised

misd him inviolable fidelity and immediate assistance. He accordingly went to his army, and caused it immediately to march to join the king's troops.

In the mean time the duke *de Mayenne*, having taken the field with a numerous army, marched to attack *Tours*, hoping to surprize the king there: the attack continued one whole day, and was favourable to the leaguers; for they forced part of the suburbs; but the duke, despairing of being able to force the city before the arrival of the king of *Navarre*, who was upon his march, retired with precipitation.

The king of *Navarre* being at last arrived with his troops, the king approached *Paris*, and formed the siege of that great city. He there received two great reinforcements of foreign troops, one of seven thousand *Germans*, the other of ten thousand *Switzers*, brought him by *Nicholas de Harlay Sancy*, who had raised them at his own expence, and in so doing had engaged his whole fortune, the king being unable to defray the charge.

His majesty had sent *Claudius d'Angennes*, bishop of *Mans*, to *Rome*, to make his excuses to the pope in regard to the death of the cardinal *de Guise*, and to demand absolution on that account; not that he imagined he had any occasion for it, having herein done nothing but what he had a right to do; but only to shew his submission to the church. The king was informed that the pope would reject his excuses, and refuse him absolution, unless he should first set the cardinal *de Bourbon* and the archbishop of *Lyons* at liberty, and should submit to make the holy see such satisfaction as the pope should judge proper. *Henry* not being inclined to release the prelates whom he kept prisoners, the pope published a monitory in *France*, whereby he summoned the king to set them at liberty, and declared him excommunicated, if within sixty days he did not obey the church. The king took no notice of this procedure, and the affair rested here.

The siege of *Paris* went on successfully for the king, and it seemed probable that great city, being already in want of provisions, though besieged only
twenty

twenty two days, would soon be obliged to submit; when a *Dominican* named *James Clement*, from a detestable infatuation, undertook to kill the king, even at the hazard of his own life: it is not known, whether he conceived this horrid design himself, or whether he was seduced by some of the chiefs of the league: but, however, this wretch quitted *Paris* the last day of *July*, and went to *Saint Cloud*, which was the king's quarters. The soldiers having seized him, they delivered him into the hands of *James de la Guesle* the king's solicitor-general, to whom he said he was sent by the faithful servants which his majesty had in *Paris*, to communicate some things of importance to him. The next day, in the morning, *le Guesle* presented him to the king, according to the order his majesty had given him.

While the king was listening to him with attention near a window, to which he had him apart, the villain stabbed him in the belly with a knife: the king, crying out, *Wretch, what have I done to thee, that thou shouldst kill me?* drew the knife out of his wound, and struck the monk with it in the face: those who were in the apartment immediately ran, fell upon the parricide, and killed him, which is the reason it could not be discovered who he was (for it is still doubtful) nor who were the authors or accomplices in his crime.

The next day, in the morning, being the 2d of *August*, the king died, aged 39 years, after having enjoined all those who were round him to obey the king of *Navarre* as the rightful heir to the crown.

H E N R Y IV.

King of France and Navarre.

HENRY III dying without children, and the branch of *Valois* being extinct in his person, the succession to the crown descended upon *Henry de Bourbon* king of *Navarre*. which is the third and last branch of the descendants of *Saint Lewis*.

This

This prince had his quarters at *Meudon* ; and his troops dispersed round him were lodged in that village, and in those of *Iffy*, *Vanvres*, and *Vaugirard*.

He was under great apprehensions, after the king's death, lest the *Parisians*, who were besieged and the Catholics, who besieged them, should come to an agreement and jointly fall upon him : in this apprehension, he was doubtful whether he should go to the quarters of the deceased king, and present himself to the officers as their sovereign, or whether he should retire towards the *Loire* for his security, and so retain those provinces in his party which are on the other side that river. At last he determined to pursue the former, which was advised by *Guitry*, and accordingly he went to *Saint Cloud*.

In the mean time the principal officers, both of the household and army of the deceased king, assembled in his apartment, to deliberate whether they should acknowledge *Henry*, who was not a Catholic : several were for preserving to him the lawful right which he had to the crown, and for joining him in order to revenge the death of the late king ; but to acknowledge him only as their captain-general till he should have abjured the heresy.

But the marshal *d'Aumont* and *de Harlay Sancy* rejected this proposal ; and the latter remonstrated that the difference of religions did not free them from their obedience to him whom a legal succession rendered their sovereign ; that it would be shameful to the Catholics, for those whose religion they condemned to be more faithful to their prince than themselves, whose religion commanded this fidelity ; and that, finally, the king, so far from being obliged to them for the ridiculous title which they proposed to give him, would have reason to be incensed against them for placing him upon an equality with the duke *de Mayenne*, whom the league acknowledged as its captain-general. This remonstrance brought them all to their duty ; and they resolved to acknowledge the king, provided he would promise them to maintain the Catholic religion, and cause himself to be

be instructed in it within six months in order to embrace it. The king having promised this by an authentic act signed with his own hand, they took the oath of fidelity to him.

Sancy caused the same oath to be at the same time taken by the colonels and captains of the *Germans* and *Switzers*; and the Catholick lords, who came to acknowledge the king, sent the duke *de Luxemburg* to the pope, to desire him to favour them in their design of converting the king to the Catholick religion.

The leaguers were extremely divided among themselves: an hundred extravagant proposals were made among them, touching the succession to the crown: but at last the fundamental law of the state prevailing against private interests or the unreasonable opinions of particular people, they did not dare at first absolutely to violate it: they agreed that the crown ought to be preserved in the house to which it lawfully belonged, but that it should be given to a Catholick prince: and they chose the cardinal *de Bourbon*, whom they proclaimed king under the name of *Charles X.* But, this prince being a prisoner, and strictly confined at *Fontenay* in *Poitou*, the duke *de Mayenne* had the honours and authority of the royal dignity, and exercised all the functions of it among those of his party.

The king, having abandoned the siege of *Paris*, entered *Normandy* with design to make himself master of that province, and there receive succours from the queen of *England.* The duke *de Mayenne*, followed him thither, and attacked him near a village named *Arques*, near *Dieppe*: the king obtained the victory, and on this occasion both acted as a general and fought as a soldier; which made the marshal *de Biron* tell him, with a freedom which his age and long services had given him, that he ought now no longer to act the soldier, as he had done formerly; that he was king of *France*; and that there was a great difference between making war as king of *France*, and defending himself as king of *Navarre.*

After the victory of *Arques*, the king released the count the *Belin*, who had been taken prisoner in the battle, and charged him to tell the duke de *Mayenne*, that though victorious, he nevertheless desired peace of him, in compassion for the miseries with which the kingdom was afflicted. The duke replied, that he would most gladly concur in the conclusion of a peace, as soon as he should see the necessary securities made for the safety of religion.

The king after this traversed the provinces of *Touraine*, *Maine*, *Anjou*, and *Bretagne*; took many towns in them, some by force, others upon terms; and, after having defeated the rebels upon several occasions, he forced them to abandon the open field. He then returned into *Normandy*, and defeated the duke de *Mayenne* at the battle of *Ivry*, so called from a village of that name, situated three leagues from *Dreux*, near which the battle was fought.

As he was ranging his troops, he recollected upon seeing *Titus de Schomberg* captain of the *Reitres*, that the day before he had with some sharpness told that officer who asked him for money, that a man of courage never asked for money the day before an engagement. He called him to him, made him an excuse for these words, and protested that he acknowledged him to be a man of courage; and he concluded by saying, *I desire you would pardon and embrace me.* *Schomberg* replied, that the honour which his majesty did him obliged him to die for his service upon this occasion. In effect he asked leave to fight in quality of *Gendarme* under the king's white standard, which having obtained, he was there slain.

When the Armies were in sight of each other, all the speech the king made to his troops was this: *My Friends, you are all French; I am your king, and there is the enemy.* The victory was long doubtful; but at last the rebels were defeated; whereupon the king was heard in all places to cry out; *Kill the foreigners, and save the French.* After this victory he went to lye at *Rhoncy*, the house of *Maximilian de Bethune*, who

who had received three musket wounds, and had had the good fortune to gain the white standard of the enemy. The duke *de Mayenne* after this sent *Villeroy* the secretary of state, who was then engaged in the league, to tell his majesty, that, if he would embrace the Catholick religion, he would dispose those of his party to pay obedience to him: the king replied, that he would cause himself to be instructed, according to his promise: but, being doubtful of the duke's sincerity, he approached *Paris*, once more besieged that great city, and in a short time reduced it to an extreme want of all things; whereupon the duke *de Mayenne* sent *Vitry* to him with a letter of credence, the superscription of which was, *To his majesty*. *Vitry* was charged to tell the king, that nothing prevented the duke from acknowledging him, but the difference of religion: the king, without replying directly to this point, told *Vitry*, *That, by the grace of God, and the force of his arms, he knew very well how to make himself acknowledged.*

In the mean time *Alexander Farnese* prince of *Parma*, governor of the *Low Countries*, came to the assistance of the *Parisians*, at the head of twenty five thousand *Spanish Troops*. The king suffered him to come within five or six leagues of *Paris*, then raised the siege, and marched to give him battle; but the prince of *Parma* posted himself so advantageously, that he could not be attacked: the duke *de Mayenne* and the leaguers pressed him to give battle; but he answered, he was not come for that, and had received orders from the king of *Spain* only to cause the siege of *Paris* to be raised; and that, having done this, he was not obliged to do more.

A distemper broke out among the king's troops, which obliged him to divide them. One part of them he sent into *Touraine*, the other into *Champagne* and *Burgundy*; and he only kept a small corps with him to follow the duke of *Parma*, lest he should attempt to seize upon any towns. Nevertheless, he could not prevent him from taking some places, which were only considerable through the inconvenience

ence they were of to *Paris*, such as *Lagny* and *Corbeil*; nor from entering even *Paris*, where, however, he did not stay above three or four days: his curiosity only to see that renowned city having determined him not to retire without seeing it. The affairs of the *Low Countries* afterwards calling him into *Flanders*, he left eight or nine thousand men with the duke *de Mayenne* for the service of the league, and retired with the displeasure of seeing *Corbeil* retaken in one night, though it had cost him a long siege. It is certain that in this expedition he did not do all that he might have done against the king; as it is also that he had orders from the king of *Spain* not to ruin the party which opposed the league; because this prince was desirous that it should long have occasion for his assistance, and should at last be obliged to grant him what he designed to obtain of it, as we shall see hereafter. After the retreat of the prince of *Parma*, the king besieged *Chartres*; which was long and difficult, and the success doubtful.

The cardinal *de Bourbon*, whom the king had set at liberty upon his promise to be faithful to him, and who was at *Tours*, conceived some hopes of restoring his ruined royalty, in case the siege should not go on successfully, and the king should persist in his religion: he even endeavoured to make himself master of the city of *Tours* by gaining the inhabitants. The cardinal *de Lenoncourt*, who was with him to watch his motions, informed the king of this, who contented himself with giving the count *de Soissons*, the cardinal's brother, a sharp reproach upon the occasion. But, the fact not being so clear as to convict the cardinal of it, he denied it: yet he was so touched both by the king's reproach and the treachery of the cardinal *de Lenoncourt*, that he was inconsolable to the day of his death, which happened soon after.

Chartres was forced to surrender, and the king entered it, the 19th of *April* 1591. The magistrate made him a long speech, wherein he enlarged greatly upon the fidelity which subjects owe

to their prince, and particularly upon that which the inhabitants of *Chartres* had always had for the king; which appeared so highly impertinent, and so raised the king's indignation, that, this man having said that he acknowledged the city was subjected to the king by right both divine and human, his majesty, being out of all patience, pushed his horse forwards to enter, and interrupting him said, *Add also by right of cannon.*

The duke of *Mayenne* plainly perceived the king of *Spain*, did not act with sincerity in favour of the league, that he assisted it but weakly, and had himself conceived great pretensions to the crown: wherefore he sent to him president *Jeannin*, a man of great probity, to represent to him the necessity the league was in of being powerfully assisted: and also the necessity there was that the Catholick king should not pretend to draw any other advantage from the protection which he might give the league, than the glory of having defended religion.

But *Philip* openly declared, that the Infanta of *Spain* being the most nearly related to the late king; and having a better right than any other to the succession, he was resolved to place the crown upon her head, and for this purpose to employ all his forces. *Jeannin*, surprized at this declaration, in vain protested, that it would never be regarded in *France*. *Philip* persisted in the design of proposing it to the states, and declared that no assistance should be obtained of him but upon this condition. *Jeannin* therefore promised that the states should be assembled, to whom the ambassadors of *Spain* should make the proposal; and the king of *Spain* at the same time promised to send such a powerful succour of men and money, that the king of *Navarre* should be soon oppressed by it.

Pope *Gregory XIV*, with the approbation of the king of *Spain*, published a bull, whereby he excommunicated the princes, cardinals, prelates, and all in general of the clergy, gentry, and others, who should continue under obedience to the king.

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The clergy, being assembled at *Chartres* under the king's authority, declared this bull to be null, unjust, and contrary to the good of the church, and resolved that two prelates should be sent to the pope, to remonstrate to him that the miseries of *France* had need of more gentle remedies. In regard to the excommunication which the pope had thundered forth, it produced no effect, detached none from the king, nor even prevented many of the rebels from returning to their duty.

The parliament of *Paris*, transferred to *Tours*, ordered this bull to be torn and burnt by the common executioner, declared *Gregory XIV* an enemy of peace, the church, the king, and the kingdom, and forbade all persons from offering money at *Rome* for the reversion of benefices. The parliament at *Paris* caused this decree of the parliament of *Tours* to be torn and burnt, and declared that those who had published it falsely usurped the title of parliament, were heretics, and enemies of God and the state.

The 15th of *August*, the duke of *Guise* escaped out of the castle of *Tours*, where he had been confined. The king immediately perceived what would be the consequence of this escape: *The duke*, said he, *will either soon return to his duty, or he will cause a division in the league: it is impossible that the uncle and nephew should agree long together.*

The duke of *Mayenne* began from that time to listen more willingly to the continual remonstrances which *Villeroy* the secretary of state and the president *Jean-nin* made him, to incline him to think of peace. The intentions of these two men, though engaged in the league, were nevertheless good; and they upon all occasions persuaded those of their party to peace and obedience to the king: so that, either because their remonstrances took effect, or because the duke of *Mayenne* wanted to excite the *Spaniards* more powerfully to succour him, by seeming desirous of an accommodation with the king, he shewed himself more than ever disposed to listen to a peace: perhaps also the succours which the king received contributed to this;

for the viscount *de Turenne*, having made the princes assembled at *Altembourg* sensible that their interest could not be separated from the king's, had obtained from them a succour of twenty-two thousand men, which were commanded by *Christian* prince of *Anbault*, and arrived in *France* under his command. The king, in recompence of so signal a service, made the viscount *de Turenne* a marshal of *France*, and gave him *Charlotte de la Marck*, dutchess of *Bouillon* and princess of *Sedan*, in marriage. He was the first of the reformed religion that was seen to receive honours and employments from the crown.

In the mean time the council of sixteen at *Paris* was extremely incensed at the duke *de Mayenne's* seeming to neglect the defence of the party, and because he did not give them so considerable a share in the government as they pretended was their due. They sent deputies to him at *Bethel*, who talked to him with great insolence: he answered them only in general terms, with which they seemed then to be satisfied; but, upon their return to *Paris*, they vented their rage upon the president *Briffon*, *Larcher* counsellor of parliament, and *Tardiff* counsellor of the *Chatelet*, who had a greater share of the duke's confidence than the others, and were in close union with *Villeroy* the secretary of state and the president *Jeannin*, who were not esteemed good leaguers. The council of sixteen caused them to be imprisoned in the *Chatelet*, and immediately after ordered them to be hanged, which was executed accordingly; after which their bodies were exposed in the square of the *Greve*. The people in general conceived great horror of this outrage; the *Spaniards* praised it as being a great mark of true zeal for religion; but the duke *de Mayenne* declared he would punish those concerned in it in an exemplary manner. For this purpose he came to *Paris*, and solicited the parliament to punish the authors of this action: but, the parliament refusing to take any cognizance of the affair, the duke by his own authority caused four of the council of sixteen, who were the most culpable, to be seized, and to be hanged even
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in the *Louvre*; after which he pardoned the others concerned in the crime, and forbad any assembly, without his authority, on pain of death, and the demolition of the house where it should be held.

This order, and the punishment of the four criminals, absolutely destroyed the authority of the sixteen in *Paris*; and the king's friends in that city, who were called *Politicians*, being freed from their fears of this sovereign council, began to act for his interests with more openness and freedom. The *Spaniards* by this action perceived that the duke *de Mayenne* was not in their interests, and from that time concluded he would not consent to their design.

In the mean time the king's arms prospered more and more: whole provinces voluntarily submitted to him. The death of pope *Gregory XIV*, who opposed the king in every thing, inspired all the Catholics with fresh hopes of an happy reunion of all the subjects of the kingdom under the dominion of their sovereign. He was succeeded by *Innocent IX*, who lived only two months; and cardinal *Hypolitus Aldrobrandini* was placed in the chair of *Saint Peter* the 30th of *January* 1592, and took the name of *Clement VIII*.

The king besieged *Roan*; and the duke *de Mayenne*, having at last promised the *Spaniards* to assemble the states, and propose to them the acknowledging the *Infanta* of *Spain* as queen of *France*, prevailed on them to go to the relief of that place. The duke of *Parma* marched for this purpose at the head of an army, and the king, with the cavalry and some infantry, marched to meet him, and give him battle. There happened a sharp skirmish near *Aumale*, wherein the king was slightly wounded in the side by a musket-shot. The duke of *Parma* avoided coming to a pitched battle, and only endeavoured to execute the purpose of his coming, which he accordingly did by throwing succours into *Roan* the 20th of *March* 1592, which caused the siege to be raised; after which the duke of *Parma* retired into *Flanders*. In his way thither he took the town of *Epernay*, which the king immediately retook; but he lost the marshal *de Biron* upon that occasion,

who was killed by a cannon-shot. He had rendered the king great services ; he was the father of that marshal *de Biran* who also did him some very considerable services, but who afterwards, forgetting his duty, rendered himself so criminal as to deserve the loss of his head upon a scaffold. This year ended with the pretended convocation of the states, which was published by the duke *de Mayenne*. He directed them, by letters patent in the form of an edict, to assemble in the month of *January* 1593.

The king at the same time published an edict, wherein he declared the person who had convoked this assembly, and those who assisted in it, guilty of high treason, and every thing they did void and of no effect. They however assembled at *Paris* ; and though there were few considerable persons among them, they nevertheless took the title of states general of the kingdom.

The pope's legate, and the cardinal *de Pellevous* archbishop of *Rheims*, men blindly devoted to the league, were at first for obliging all the deputies to take an oath never to acknowledge the king of *Navarre* for king of *France*, because he was relapsed into heresy. But this proposal displeased most of them : *Villeroy* in particular openly opposed it ; so that at last it was resolved, that the oath should be to live and die in the Catholick religion, and never to acknowledge an heretick for king.

A few days after the duke *de Feria*, ambassador extraordinary from the king of *Spain*, arrived at *Paris* ; and being introduced into the assembly, he demanded, on the part of the Catholick king, that the Infanta of *Spain*, being the grand-daughter of *Henry II*, and the only legitimate heir to the crown, should be declared queen of *France* by the states ; and he promised that a month after this declaration the king of *Spain* would cause an army to enter *France* capable to suppress the party of the hereticks, which he would maintain till it was effectually subdued, and would moreover, for the execution of this design, furnish the league with an hundred thousand crowns a month.

Cardinal

Cardinal *Pelleus* approved this proposal, and was for having it accepted immediately; but the archbishop of *Lyons* openly ridiculed it, and in this was joined by most of the deputies: they were of opinion it ought to be rejected instantly: nevertheless, in order to preserve some moderation and respect for the Catholick king, it was resolved to take time to consider what answer to give; and the duke *de Mayenne* was at last enjoined to give it in such manner as he should judge proper, agreeable to the sentiments of the assembly: he accordingly replied, that the laws and customs of the *French* did not permit them to agree to the king of *Spain's* proposal; but that if he pleased to cast his eyes upon a prince of their own nation to be elected king, and gave him his daughter in marriage, they would consent to it. Upon this the duke *de Feria* declared, that the king his master, sacrificing the infanta his daughter to the good of religion, would marry her to the duke of *Guise*, provided she might be declared queen of *France* in her own right, and equally with this prince. (These are the terms of his declaration). The duke of *Guise* was applauded for shewing such moderation upon this occasion, as not to let any mark appear of his flattering himself with such agreeable hopes, nor any ardent desire for so great a fortune.

The duke *de Mayenne* was strangely surprized at this design of the *Spaniards*: he did not believe their proposal sincere; but judged their design was only to get the Infanta declared queen, and that after this they would infallibly marry her to a prince of the house of *Austria*: he could not help conceiving some jealousy of his nephew, and great indignation against the *Spaniards*: he nevertheless dissembled his resentment, and at last replied, in concert with the duke of *Guise*, "that he was highly obliged to the Catholick king for having chose a prince of his house on whom to bestow his daughter; but that he could not propose this to the states, till he saw forces sufficient in the kingdom to support it and make it be accepted."

The parliament, that is to say the assembly which pretended to be the parliament of *Paris*, published a

decree, forbidding any treaty to be made to transfer the crown to any princess, or any foreign prince whatsoever, and declaring all treaties made or to be made with this design null and void, as being contrary to the *Salick* law, and the other fundamental laws of the state. The parliament also directed the president *la Maitre*, accompanied by a great number of counsellors, to go and signify this decree to the duke *de Mayenne* in presence of the princes and officers of the crown, who were then at *Paris*. This action, which *Villeroy* in his memoirs calls magnanimous, extremely displeased the *Spaniards* and the duke *de Mayenne*: but, whatever efforts this duke might make to oblige those who had published this decree to revoke or suppress it, he could not obtain it, either by promises or menaces.

The king, being pressed by the continual solicitations of his faithful servants, declared at last that he would be instructed. With this design he assembled a great number of prelates and doctors, and required them to satisfy him in regard to one point, whereon depended all the others: "Shew me," said he, "that your society is the true Catholick and Apostolick church; when I shall be convinced of this, I shall believe all the rest; because I am perswaded I ought to submit to the faith, and believe whatever the true church teaches."

The archbishop of *Bourges*, and the bishops of *Nantes*, *Mans*, and *Evreux*, undertook to resolve all his doubts. Having, therefore, been fully satisfied in several conferences which he had with them, he abjured the heresy, and embraced the Catholick faith, at *Saint Dennis*, before the archbishop of *Bourges*, the 15th of *July* 1593, in presence of all the lords of his court, and an infinite number of people who came from *Paris* to be spectators of the ceremony; notwithstanding the prohibition of the cardinal *de Placentia*, the pope's legate, who insisted that whatever should be there done would be null and void, and that the king's conversion would always be esteemed insincere by the holy see.

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The king at the same time sent the duke *de Nevers*, and *d'Angennes Rambouillet* bishop of *Mans*, to *Rome*, to inform the pope of his conversion, present the verbal process of it to him, and desire his holiness would from that time look upon him as a true son of the church.

His conversion produced a great effect upon the minds of the people, and especially of the *Parisians*, who openly declared, that, having now no longer any reason to refuse obedience to the king, it was time for the duke *de Mayenne* to execute the promise he had so often made to acknowledge the king whenever he should become a Catholic: and at last they consented that the truce which the king had granted the league should be changed into a perpetual peace.

But the duke *de Mayenne*, the partizans of *Spain*, and all the enemies of the publick good, said the king could not be considered as a Catholic, till the pope should have declared him such, and should have granted him absolution. However, their obstinacy did not prevent the cities of *Meaux*, *Orleans*, *Bourges*, and *Lyons*, from returning to their duty. *Villeroy*, seeing no longer any reason to refuse doing the same, declared to the duke *de Mayenne* that he was resolved to return to his duty, and at the same time to retire to *Pontoise*, of which *d'Alincourt* his son was governor. Both father and son went to the king to assure him of their submission, and surrendered the place to him.

The year 1594 commenced with the king's coronation. This ceremony was performed at *Chartres*, *Rheims* not being yet reduced to the king's obedience; and for this purpose a phial was brought from the monastery of *Marmoutiers*, near *Tours*, which is preserved there as a very holy thing; the tradition being, that the oil contained in it, was blessed by *Saint Martin* for which reason it is called *The phial of Saint Martin*. *Nicholas de Thou* bishop of *Chartres* represented the archbishop of *Rheims*, and performed the ceremony; the other ecclesiastical peers were represented by the bishops of *Nantes*, *Digne*, *Maillezais*, *Orleans*, and *Angers*. It was performed on the 27th of February 1594, and wrought such a change in the

minds of the *Parisians*, that the duke *de Mayenne* began to think himself no longer safe in *Paris*; for which reason he retired to *Soissons*. From that time the count *de Brissac* governor of *Paris*, the president *le Maitre*, and the provost, began to consider how they should give up the city to the king. Measures being taken for the execution of this design, the king quitted *Senlis*, and on the 22d of *March* appeared before one of the gates of the city, called the *New Gate*; where the count *de Brissac* received him, and his majesty entered the city at the head of his troops: some *Germans* of the garrison, who had been placed there by the *Spaniards*, were put to the sword, because they endeavoured to make a resistance. In the mean time persons were dispersed in all the streets to declare grace and pardon on the part of his majesty, and in all places to distribute papers, containing an assurance that the king intended the past disorders should be buried in oblivion: whereupon the people in all places began to cry out, *Long live the king!* But the cardinal *de Placentia* the pope's legate, and the cardinal *de Pellevus*, who had always shewn themselves the king's enemies, being in danger of their persons, both from the people and soldiers, the king for their security appointed them a guard. In the afternoon the duke *de Feria*, don *Diego d'Ibarra*, and *John Baptist Taxis*, ambassadors from the king of *Spain*, quitted the city, at the head of the *Spanish* and *Walloon* troops, through the gate of *Saint Dennis*, where the king was at a window to see them pass. The principal officers of these troops stopping before the window where he was to make him a reverence; his majesty, with his usual gaiety, said, *Make my compliments to the king your master, but do not return hither again.* They promised the king, in acknowledgment of the liberty which he granted them to retire in safety, never to bear arms in *France* against him. Some few of the nobility, continuing obstinate in their revolt, retired with them into the *Low Countries*.

The king caused a solemn thanksgiving to be returned to *Heaven* for these successes, by a general procession,

procession, wherein he assisted himself; and the parliament ordered the same to be annually performed on the 22d of *March* for ever, in memory of the reduction of the capital city of the kingdom to the king. The parliament at the same time published an edict, containing a general abolition of whatever had been done contrary to the service of him and the late king in the city of *Paris*, and restored things to the same state they were in before.

The *Spaniards*, no longer having any hopes of getting into the heart of the kingdom, attacked some inconsiderable places upon the frontiers of *Picardy*, and took them; but the king retook *Laon* after a siege of three months, wherein he lost *Giuvy*, colonel of the *French* cavalry.

Peronne, *Amiens*, and *Beauvais*, surrendered in fifteen days; so that the king was master of all *Picardy*, except three places; *Soissons*, which was in the possession of the duke de *Mayenne*, *la Fere*, which was held by the *Spaniards*, and *Ham*, of which the duke d'*Aumale* was in possession.

At last the king, after having long deliberated with his council, judged it proper to declare war against the king of *Spain*, who acted offensively against him, and endeavoured the ruin of *France*, and yet without seeming to appear an open enemy of the kingdom. This declaration extremely astonished the *Spaniards*, deprived them of the specious pretence of religion, under which they acted; and shewed the whole kingdom of *France* that it was no longer any thing but a war of one nation against another, wherein they could not be permitted to follow the party of him who was a declared enemy. The king of *Spain* declared by a manifesto which he published, that, in all his enterprizes for the future, upon the territories and towns of the kingdom, he did not pursue the war against *France*, but against the prince of *Bearn* and his adherents, as enemies of God and the church.

The 27th of *September* the king was wounded in his chamber with a knife, in the lip, by *John Chastel*, a youth only nineteen years old, son of a rich merchant.

chant of *Paris*, whose house was situated opposite the palace: his design was to strike him in the throat; but, the king stooping to embrace *Montigny*, who was paying his respects to him, and kissed his knee, the blow fell upon his under lip, and beat out one of his teeth.

The parricide, being questioned by the first president and other officers of parliament, declared that he had abandoned himself to such debaucheries and enormities, that he despaired of gaining pardon from the mercy of God; that, under this despair, he had frequently heard it said by the *Jesuits*, under whom he studied, that to kill an heretical prince, or one who was not acknowledged a Catholick by the pope, and who had tyrannically seized upon the state, would be an action so agreeable to God, that it would efface the most enormous crimes; and, that these discourses were what had determined him to attempt the king's life.

The parliament condemned him to be torn in pieces by horses, which was executed: his father was forever banished the city of *Paris*, and the whole kingdom for nine years; his house was demolished, and a pyramid was erected upon the ruins, with an inscription, which contained the decree of parliament published against this parricide, and against the *Jesuits*, who were ordered to quit the kingdom within fifteen days, on pain of being treated as guilty of high treason.

Among the papers which were seized in the college of *Clermont*, one was found written by father *Guignard*, wherein he commended the parricide committed on the person of *Henry III*, and affirmed it would be laudable to commit the same upon the person of the reigning king: the court hereupon condemned him to be hanged, which was executed in the square of the *Greve*; and it being proved in the writings of father *John Gueret*, professor of philosophy, under whom *Chastel* had studied; that he had taught his scholars that it was lawful to kill kings who were tyrants and hereticks, or favourers of hereticks, he was banished the kingdom for ever.

The

The *Jesuits* also were entirely banished out of the greatest part of the kingdom ; but some parliaments, as those of *Thoulouse* and *Bordeaux*, paying no regard to the decree of that of *Paris*, maintained them in their privileges.

At the beginning of the year 1595 the king entered *Franche-Comté* and conquered the greatest part of it ; and the whole would certainly have been conquered, had not the *Switzers* conjured his Majesty to leave a province in peace, of which they were too near neighbours not to feel the inconveniencies of the war carried on there : the king, paying a regard to the request of his allies, withdrew his arms out of this province. It was in this war that the duke of *Guise*, who had quitted the league and submitted to the king, gave illustrious proofs of an extraordinary courage.

In the mean time the war against the duke of *Savoy* was carried on with great vigour : *Lesdiguières*, governor of *Dauphiné*, commanded the king's troops, and succeeded so greatly as to conquer most of the towns in this country, and even to carry the war into *Piedmont*.

Though the duke of *Nevers*, whom the king had sent ambassador to the pope, to desire his holiness to absolve him, returned without being able to obtain it, and without being received in quality of ambassador, the king, nevertheless continued to solicit the pope to be reconciled to him ; for which purpose he employed *Arnold d'Offat*, a man of excellent understanding, as appears by the letters we have of his.

The pope gave him to understand, that, notwithstanding the opposition of *Spain*, he was well disposed towards the king, and was resolved to absolve him, as soon as he should make it evident that his conversion was sincere. *D'Offat* gained such credit with his holiness, that he prevailed on him to receive the ambassador which the king designed to send to him to give the holy see entire satisfaction.

James Davy du Perron bishop of *Evreux*, was chosen for this ambassy. When the *Spaniards*, from whom

whom this negotiation was concealed, were informed of the departure of this ambassador, they were so alarmed, and shewed such indignation at it, that the pope thought proper to send him a strong escort of cavalry upon the frontiers of the ecclesiastical state for the security of his person.

The sincerity and piety with which the pope acted upon this occasion cannot be too much applauded: he ardently desired to absolve the king, and absolutely despised the menaces of the king of *Spain* to deter him from it: but he was doubtful lest the king's conversion should not be sincere, and lest he should only desire this absolution as a necessary means to get possession of the kingdom, and then abolish the Catholic religion. He caused publick prayers to be made to beg of God that he would direct him in what he ought to do; he fasted himself, and prayed very often; he went twice from his palace to the church of *Saint Mary* bare-foot, without any other retinue than a few of his servants; he performed mass there, and each time continued a long while prostrated before the altar. At last, on the 16th of *September*, he publicly pronounced the absolution upon a theatre erected for that purpose before the church of *Saint Peter*, where the ambassadors of *France* being on their knees and bare-headed before the pope, received it from him in the king's name.

At the beginning of the month of *October* following the inhabitants of *Cambray*, being no longer able to bear the vexations of the marshal *de Belaguy*, who possessed this city in quality of prince and duke of *Cambray*, under the king's protection, opened their gates to the count *de Fuentes*, who made himself master of the city, besieged the citadel, and forced *Belaguy* to surrender it for want of provisions: thus *Cambray* fell into the power of the *Spaniards* who kept it till it was retaken in the last war which we had with *Spain*.

The king not being able to arrive soon enough to succour *Cambray*, besieged *la Fere*, and took it the 2d of *May* 1596, after a siege of seven months; during

during which, the duke *de Mayenne*, and the duke *de Nemours* his brother, submitted to the king.

The *Spaniards* judging that the siege of *la Fere* would engage the king a considerable time, took advantage of the opportunity : the cardinal of *Austria* besieged *Calais*, and took it the 17th of *April* 1596.

On the 11th of *March*, the year following, *Hernando Telles Porto-Carrero*, a *Spanish* general, and governor of *Dourlery*, surprized *Amiens* : he entered that place disguised like a *Capuchin* ; and, having discovered in what manner the inhabitants kept guard at the gates, he concluded it would not be difficult to surprize them. With this design he dressed a certain number of officers and soldiers like peasants of both sexes, bearing fruit, &c. as if to sell at market. Those who entered the place first stopped pretty near the gate, till a sack of walnuts been thrown down as if by accident, under the gate, all those who composed the guard fell to gathering them : whereupon the pretended peasants seized their arms, and enabled a considerable body of cavalry and infantry which had followed them, to enter and take the place.

The king, being informed of the loss of this place, said he would set out immediately to retake it ; which he accordingly did, and every where declared, *That he should regard all those gentlemen as cowards, who did not follow him upon this occasion.* There never were so many of the *French* nobility and gentry assembled together, as this saying of the king's brought before *Amiens*.

The cardinal of *Austria* appeared to relieve the besieged with an army of twenty thousand men ; but perceiving it equally impossible, either to get succours into the place, or to force the king's camp, he retired. The *Spaniards* being extremely weakened by the loss of their best troops, which had been defeated in the several sallies and attacks, and especially by the death of *Porto-Carrero* their governor, who had been killed by a cannon-shot, they surrendered the place the 25th of *September* ; blaming the cardinal of *Austria* for having done nothing with so fine an army, and saying,

ing, That he came like a captain, but returned like a priest.

Bretagne was not yet subjected to the king : *Philip Emanuel* of *Lorraine*, duke de *Mercœur*, and de *Penthièvre*, governor of this province, attempted, with the assistance of the *Spaniards*, to maintain themselves in it in a kind of sovereignty. The king, being resolved to subdue them, caused his troops to march that way ; and went himself to *Angers*, in order to enter *Bretagne* directly. When the duke beheld the *French* troops ready to fall upon him, he had recourse to submission, and protested he was ready to accept the conditions which the king had so often proposed to him, and which he always rejected. The king consented still to treat him with the same goodness, except in regard to the government, which he would not continue to him. The whole of these conditions consisted only in the contract of marriage, which was made at *Angers*, between *Cæsar* duke de *Vendôme*, the king's natural son, and *Frances* de *Lorraine*, only daughter of this duke, who by this contract gave fifty thousand livres to his daughter as a portion, and voluntarily divested himself of the government of *Bretagne* in favour of the duke de *Vendôme* : to whom the king by the same contract, besides this government and the dutchy of *Vendôme*, gave the sum of five hundred thousand livres : the dutches his mother also gave him the dutchy of *Beaufort* : and thus *Bretagne* was subjected to the king.

The pope, now perceiving that the king, being absolute master of his kingdom, began to turn all his forces against *Spain*, and that this war was likely to prove the greatest misfortune which could happen to *Christendom*, was very pressing in his solicitations to the two kings to incline them to peace, wherein he had at last the satisfaction to succeed. The king and the king of *Spain* sent their ambassadors to *Veruins*, there to put an end to their differences : the cardinal of *Florence*, in quality of legate, repaired thither from the pope, to perform the office of mediator between the two crowns : *Pomponius de Bellievre* and *Nicholas*

Brulart

Brulart were for the king; *John Richardot*, *John-Baptist Taxis*, and *Verreiken*, for the archduke, having power from the king of *Spain*. They concluded a peace between the two crowns the 2d of *May* 1598, wherein the duke of *Savoy* was comprehended; and it was agreed that the pope should be the sole judge of the restitution of the marquisate of *Salucio*, which this duke had usurped from *France*; that his holiness should terminate the difference in a year; and that in the mean time there should be peace between the king and the duke. The king, in recompence of the great services done him by marshal *Biron*, created him baron, earl, and duke *de Biron*.

About this time the general assembly of the clergy of *France* made some remonstrances to the king, touching the inferiority of those who were invested with the greatest part of the benefices, and desired his Majesty to apply the necessary remedies to this irregularity, as well as to many others of which they complained. The king received their remonstrances kindly, and exhorted them to do their duty also, promising them his protection and favour. He discoursed with them upon this occasion in a familiar manner, and without ceremony, and among other things said, *My predecessors have given you words with great form and ceremony; but I, though in my grey jacket, will do you real services; I am grey without, but gold within.* This year died *Philip II* king of *Spain*, on the 13th of *September*, aged seventy-one years.

The king's first care after the conclusion of peace being to regulate the interior affairs of the kingdom, good order soon appeared in the administration, especially in the finances, of which the marquis *de Rhosny* had the superintendence, as well as the post of grand master of the Artillery.

No minister ever more intirely enjoyed the confidence of his prince than the marquis of *Rhosny*, whom he afterwards created duke *de Sully*; and no one ever rendered himself more worthy of such a confidence than he did, by his fidelity, activity, continual application to business, and his disinterestedness in

in all things which concerned the king's service: he never considered any thing but the interest of his majesty; nor did a deference for any of the nobility, princes, or even the queen, ever force him to the least compliance, whenever the interest or glory of the king would be injured by it: which behaviour created him enemies, and was the reason that after the king's death the queen deprived him of the administration.

In the month of *January* 1599, the king married his sister *Catherine de Bourbon* to the duke of *Bar*, son of the duke of *Lorraine*; the pope having granted a dispensation for their difference of religions. This princess adhered to the doctrines of *Calvin*, and was extremely zealous for her religion. Before her departure for *Lorraine*, she strongly solicited the king to use his authority to make the parliament publish the edict which he had granted at *Nantes* in favour of those of the reformed religion. This edict in general granted them the free exercise of their religion throughout the kingdom, and also reestablished that of the Catholick in all those places where the reformed had abolished it; it appointed those places where they should have temples, the manner in which they should hold their synods or assemblies, and agreed upon the means to reconcile any differences which they might have with the Catholicks in regard to religion. Moreover, by the twenty-seventh article the king declared those who made profession of the reformed religion capable to hold and exercise all governments, dignities, and publick employments, of what kind soever: and by the twenty-eighth he directed the establishment of a new chamber in the parliament of *Paris*, composed of a president and sixteen counsellors, which should be called *The chamber of the edict*, and was to judge the causes and trials of those of the reformed religion; that, in some other parliaments which were specified, a chamber should be established in each, composed of two presidents, one of the Catholick and the other of the reformed religion, and of twelve counsellors, of which six should be Catholicks, and six of the reformed religion, to judge

judge and determine affairs, wherein those of this religion might be defendants; and these chambers were to be called by this edict *Bipartite Chambers*.

In the month of *May*, this year, the duke de *Joyeuse* resumed the habit and life of a *Capuchin*, which he had quitted to take up arms against the king, and fight in the service of the leaguers at the head of the revolted troops of *Languedoc*. The nobility of this province having taken him out of the monastery, and forced him to take the command of the army, after having obtained a dispensation from the pope for this purpose, he supported his party as long as he was able in *Languedoc*, of which he obtained the government. In the year 1596 he was reconciled to the king, who gave him the staff of marshal of *France*: at last, being pressed by the continual solicitations of his mother and his own conscience, and piqued also by some raillery of the king's, he reentered the *Capuchins* of *Paris*, and ended his days in that state, under the name of father *An elo*, leading a life of such piety as gained him the esteem of all who knew him.

Philip Hurault de Chiverny, chancellor of *France*, being dead, the king gave the seals and the vacant post to *Pomponius de Bellievre*. When *Villeroy* the secretary of state came to inform him of this from the king, he received the account without emotion, and did not, either in publick or private, shew that this in the least changed his usual tranquillity: in the exercise of his employment he shewed a perfect love of justice and an incorruptible probity, and reestablished the antient custom, which the corruption of the times had interrupted, of never sealing any thing but in presence of the masters of requests, who are quarterly officers.

The exprefs prohibitions which the king had repeatedly published against single combats did not prevent a celebrated one, which happened at this time, between don *Philippin*, bastard brother to the duke of *Savoy*, and *Crey* governor of *Peronne*, son-in-law of the duke de *Lesdiguières*. They had already fought

fought one duel in the time of the war, wherein *Crequi* was lieutenant-general of the king's army in *Dauphiné*, under the duke de *Lesdiguières*: *Philippin* had been wounded and disarmed in this encounter; and it was reported he had begged his life, not in the most honourable manner. The duke of *Savoy* commanded him to regain his reputation by a second combat; and he accordingly challenged *Crequi*, who met him upon the confines of *Savoy* and *Dauphiné*, where they fought; and, *Philippin* received two wounds through his body, of which he died upon the spot, in the arms of *Crequi's* surgeon, who dressed his wounds, and did his utmost to save him, but to no purpose.

The dutchess of *Beaufort* dying when the king was the most enamoured of her, and when she had the greatest hopes of becoming queen of *France*, queen *Margaret* at last shewed herself willing to grant her consent to the king's obtaining a dissolution of his marriage with her from the pope, which she had always refused during the dutchess's life. The king for this purpose sent the president *Sillery* to *Rome*, who presented the king and queen's request to the pope, representing to his holiness that their marriage had been forced, and that they had neither of them voluntarily given their consent to it; besides that their nearness of blood did not lawfully permit them to marry; and therefore praying his holiness to declare their marriage null and void.

The pope by his bulls appointed the cardinal de *Joyeuse*, the archbishop of *Arles*, and the bishop of *Modena*, to examine the truth of these reasons; and, after they were acknowledged just, he declared the marriage void, and that the parties were entirely at liberty.

The king was very well served in this affair, not only by the president *Sillery*, but also by *Arnold d'Offat*, in whom the pope had great confidence in regard to the affairs of *France*, in recompence of which he some time after obtained the cardinal's cap.

Nothing was now wanting to complete the execution of the treaty of *Verwins*, but a decision of the contest in regard to the marquissate of *Salucio*, of which

which the pope was arbitrator. He judged it proper that the marquisate should be sequestrated, during the time which would be necessary to examine the right of the king and the duke of Savoy. The king consented to have it put into the hands of the pope himself, and that one of his holinesses's nephews should be appointed governor of it. The duke of Savoy shewed that he suspected the sincerity of the judge, and some collusion with the king; which offended the pope, and determined him to relinquish the arbitration. The duke of Savoy was highly pleased at it; and, thinking he could happily put an end to the difference himself, by conferring with the king, he determined to come to Paris. The king being acquainted with the duke's resolution, in answer to it said, *He should be welcome, provided he relinquished the marquisate; but that, if he was resolved not to resign it, he would not advise him to cross the mountains.*

The duke of Savoy, nevertheless, came to Paris, proposed great designs to the king against Spain, and protested he would always be faithful to his majesty's interests. The king replied, *That, before they conversed upon any thing else, it was necessary to determine the affair of the marquisate, which could not be done without an absolute restitution.* The duke appeared at court with a royal magnificence, and a liberality of which he hoped to make his advantage: his behaviour to the king was neither too familiar nor too submissive: he appeared a great prince in the presence of a great king, carested the nobility of the court, and did not disdain those of a lower rank. When a restoration of the marquisate of Salucio was mentioned to him, he said in the *Louvre*, with the same freedom he would have used in Turin, *That the word restitution had a barbarous sound in the ears of princes.*

He found the king was firmly resolved not to talk of any other affair, till that of the marquisate of Salucio was determined. He therefore appointed some of his ministers to confer upon it with the constable de Montmorency, the chancellor de Bellievre, and some others, whom the king had chosen for this purpose.

purpose. After long conferences, the chancellor, at last, said, that the marquisate of *Salucio* must either be given up to the king, or in exchange for it *la Bresse, Pignerole*, and some other places in the neighbouring vallies, to serve for the passage of *France* into *Piedmont*; adding these words, which astonished the duke, when they were repeated to him, *We must either pass there or by the sword.*

The articles of the treaty were at last agreed on, in regard both to the restitution and the exchange: the duke promised to accept either one or the other within three months, and signed it; after which he quitted *Paris*, in the month of *February*, repenting his having come thither, and having obtained no other satisfaction by it, than that of having extremely pleased the ladies by his complaisance and generosity, and perverted the duke *de Biron* from his fidelity to the king. He worked upon the ambitious spirit of this duke with such address, he represented to him in such strong terms the injustice which the king did him in not rewarding him according to his merit, and made him such magnificent promises, that he inspired him with such pernicious designs, as would have caused the ruin both of *France* and the king, had they succeeded; but happily they only turned to the misfortune of him by whom they were conceived.

On the 4th of *May* a celebrated conference commenced at *Fontainebleau*, between *James Dasy du Perron* bishop of *Evreux*, and *Philip du Pleffis Mornay* governor of *Saumur*. This gentleman had written a book, full of erudition, wherein he pretended to prove that the Catholick church was mistaken in its belief touching the mass or the celebration of the eucharist. This book being read and esteemed by most of the court, the bishop of *Evreux* affirmed there were five hundred falsities in it, that is to say, five hundred passages from the fathers quoted falsely: this he offered to prove; and *du Pleffis* defying him to do it, a conference ensued, by permission and authority of the king, who named for commissioners in the conference the presidents *de Thou*, *Pithou* advocate

cate in parliament, *Martin* reader and physician to his majesty, *de Fresne Canaye* president of the bipartite chamber of *Languedoc*, and *Casaubon* professor of the *Greek* language. The conference was held in presence of the king, the chancellor, and most of the court : nineteen passages only were examined, in regard to which the king advertised *du Plessis* to prepare himself. In the examination of them, all the commissioners, though in part Hugonots, agreed in the falsity which the bishop of *Evreux* found in them ; so that *du Plessis* being vanquished, was ordered to retire from court to his government ; and the victor was some time after recompensed with a cardinal's cap, which *Clement VIII* had before offered him, upon condition that he should always live at *Rome* ; but he had excused himself from accepting it without the king's consent, and upon terms which might detach him from his majesty's service. The pope admired the strength and greatness of his mind ; and having one day heard him maintain an opinion which was strongly contested, he said to him, *I pray God he may always inspire you with good opinions, for you are very capable to defend bad ones.*

The king finding the duke of *Savoy* was resolved not to execute the treaty of *Paris*, he went to *Lyons* with design to do himself justice, if the fear of his coming should not bring the duke to reason : at last, all his remonstrances proving intirely vain, he declared war against him the 11th of *August*, declaring at the same time that he did it only against the duke of *Savoy*, and for the recovery of the marquisate of *Salucio*, without any intention to act contrary to the treaty of *Vervins*, which he designed strictly to observe.

At the same time he ordered the marshal *de Biron* to enter *la Bresse*, and *Creguy* to enter *Savoy*. They both made a great progress, in a short time ; and the king having himself besieged *Chamberry*, he took it, and at the same time caused *Montmelian* to be invested by *Lefdiguieres*. After this he went to *Lyons*, there to receive *Mary de Medicis*, daughter of *Francis* grand duke
of

of *Tuscany*, whom he had demanded in marriage by his ambassadors *Sillery* and *d'Alincourt*.

This princess arrived there in the month of *December*: and though the marriage had before been solemnly performed at *Florence*, the king and queen again received the nuptial benediction from the cardinal *Aldrobandini* the pope's nephew and legate, who was at *Lyons*, to endeavour the conclusion of a peace between the king and the duke of *Savoy*, which was at last concluded and proclaimed there the 17th of *January* 1601. The weakness of the duke, who was deprived of all *Savoy* and *la Bresse*, excepting the citadel of *Bourg*, which had already capitulated, compelled him, contrary to his inclination, to accept the terms of peace: the articles of which were, that he should give up to the king the countries and lordships of *Bresse*, *Bugey*, and *Valromey*, and the bailiage of *Gex*: the king ceded to the duke the marquise of *Salucio*, and restored all that he had taken from him.

To the joy of the peace succeeded that of the happy delivery of the queen, who gave birth to a son the 27th of *September*; four or five days after which the queen of *Spain* was delivered of a daughter: and from that time the infant prince and princess were destined for each other, by the general voice and wishes of the people; and they were in effect married together afterwards, as we shall see.

The happiness of the royal house filling the court with joy, nothing was thought on but diversions; during which time the king caused the *Swiss* cantons to be solicited to renew their antient alliances with *France*: he employed *Sillery* in this negociation, who succeeded in it to the king's satisfaction. When all things were concluded, the king sent into *Switzerland* the duke de *Biron*, colonel of the troops of that nation which served in *France*, to sign the treaty; after which the cantons and their allies sent the king forty-two ambassadors to swear to the alliance, and be present at the oath which his majesty was to take. The ceremony was performed the 20th of *October* at *Paris* in the church of *Notre Dame*; after which the ambassadors

bassadors went into the episcopal hall, where they dined with all the princes of the blood, the constable, and the greatest lords of the court: Towards the conclusion of the entertainment the king entered the hall, accompanied by the cardinals *de Joyeuse* and *de Gondi* bishop of *Paris*; and, having placed himself at the bottom of a table, without sitting down, and without suffering any one to rise, he drank to the health of the *Switzers* his good allies, and commanded the cardinals to do the like; which so charmed the *Switzers*, that they protested that they would always prefer their alliance with the king before all the princes upon earth.

In the mean time the duke *de Biron* was in his government of *Burgundy* where he continued his intrigue with the duke of *Savoy* and the count *de Fuentes* governor of the *Milanese*, by the intervention of *Lafin*, a gentleman of a bold spirit and subtle genius, proper for the conduct of a wicked design: he was the person employed in the correspondence and was the bearer of all messages and letters which passed between them. The design of their conspiracy was, to put the duke of *Savoy* in possession of those places which he had ceded to the king, and to give the *Spaniards* entrance into *France* through *Burgundy*, which, according to the agreement made between them, should be possessed in propriety by the duke *de Biron*, to whom the duke should give his daughter in marriage, with the sum of five hundred thousand crowns as a dowry.

The king had for some time been informed that *Biron* was disloyal, and corresponded with his majesty's enemies; and it was for this reason that, when *Biron* asked the government of the citadel of *Bourg*, when he should have taken it, to dispose of it as he should think proper, the king refused his request; after which his majesty reproached him with his ingratitude in such strong terms, that *Biron* confessed he had given ear to some proposals made to him by his majesty's enemies; that he had not done all which he might have done for his service; and that he had

been induced to it from an imagination that his majesty had no longer the same affection for him as formerly : for which he begged his pardon, and promised him an inviolable fidelity for the future. The king had pardoned him, and had given his word he would for ever bury what he had done in oblivion, provided he never relapsed : but the duke did not keep his promise with the king ; for, instead of discontinuing his intrigues, he formed a conspiracy against the state, and even a design against the king's person, whenever he should find a favourable opportunity. The king, who always suspected him, caused him to be watched so closely, that he discovered his new correspondence, and that he was forming new designs contrary to his service.

Lafin, being instigated by his conscience, and judging his ruin would be inevitable if the king did not pardon him, resolved to merit his forgiveness by discovering all to his majesty, who knew in general that something was in agitation against him, but had not been able to gain a certain information of the design : *Lafin* therefore confessed the whole conspiracy to him, all the journies which had been made on that account, all the conversations, and all the resolutions which had been taken ; the truth of which he proved by putting into the king's hands the letters of the duke *de Biron*, together with several other papers written by the duke's own hand.

Lafin at the same time wrote to *Biron*, informing him that he had been questioned in regard to an infinite number of things, but he had taken care to say nothing that could prejudice him. It is doubtful whether *Lafin* by this conduct intended to prevent the duke from suspecting any thing, and thereby inspire him with confidence to come to court, which the king desired ; or whether he meant to conceal his treachery, and still preserve the duke's friendship, in case the king should pardon him again, as it was probable he would, because he loved him too well to be able to resolve his ruin. Indeed, the king's desire was to pardon him ; but he was desirous to have him confess his

crime, and make a sincere and open declaration of every thing. With this intention he sent for the duke to come to court; but *Biron* excused himself upon various pretences, which had no foundation: the king sent the president *Jeannin* to persuade him to come; but it proving in vain, his majesty at last publicly protested and declared that he would fetch him himself, if he did not come immediately. *Biron* upon this set out for court; but at some days journey from *Fontainbleau* he received letters from his friends, advising him to be cautious how he came thither, and that he ought rather to retire into a place of safety, in order to plead his cause at a distance: but the duke, not imagining *Lafin* had betrayed him, confidently continued his journey, saying upon all occasions, that he would stifle whoever said any thing ill of him; and he arrived at *Fontainbleau* the 13th of *June*. As soon as the king saw him, he said, *he had passionately desired to see him, that he might be satisfied in regard to several designs of which his enemies accused him.* The duke, not imagining the king was informed of every thing, replied, *that he was not come to justify himself, but to demand justice upon his enemies, by whom he was unjustly calumniated.* He played at cards that evening with the queen, during which he was privately informed that he was inevitably ruined. When they had done play, the king took him into his cabinet, and told him, he desired to be informed from his own mouth, though he knew it from the mouths of others, in regard to what he had done with the duke of *Savoy* and the count *de Fuentes*, and added, that he would pardon him all: the duke replied with warmth, that this was pressing an honest man too close, and that he had never done any thing which had need of pardon: *Good God!* cried the king, *you will not tell me then? Adieu: you may retire.*

At his coming out of the king's cabinet he was stopped by *Vitry* captain of the guards; at the same time the count *d' Auvergne*, who was suspected of being concerned in the conspiracy, was also seized; and two days after they were both conducted to *Paris*,

and confined in the *Bastile*. The king ordered *Achilles de Harlay*, first president, *Nicholas Pottier* second president, and some other counsellors of parliament, to proceed in the tryal of the duke *de Biron*; which having been done, his majesty commanded the parliament to judge the criminal; and, the duke being a peer of *France*, all the peers were summoned to be present at pronouncing the sentence; but none of them obeyed the summons.

The last day of the month *July* the chancellor *de Bellievre* presided in parliament; and, having heard the opinions of all, he pronounced the decree, by which the duke *de Biron* was condemned to be beheaded upon a scaffold in the square of the *Greve*: but the sentence was executed in the *Bastile*, the king having changed the place to spare the criminal the confusion of appearing upon such an occasion in the sight of the whole nation. He shewed but little resolution in bearing his punishment.

The count *d' Auvergne* continued two months longer in the *Bastile*; after which the king released him, though he was not innocent, which he did at the request of the marchioness *de Verneuil*, the count's sister by the mother's side, who had succeeded the dutchess of *Beaufort*.

In 1603 the king made a tour into *Champagne* with the queen; where he visited the frontiers to regulate some disorders, and made his entry into the city of *Metz*; upon which occasion the *Jesuits* cast themselves at his feet, and begged him to re-establish them in those places from which they had been banished by the decree of parliament. They would have obtained their request immediately, had not the king been desirous they should be obliged to the pope for it, who having frequently solicited him, he resolved that the pope's nuncio should ask it of him again upon this occasion.

The same year died *Elizabeth* queen of *England*: *James VI* king of *Scotland* succeeded her, and with the unanimous consent of the parliaments of *England* and *Scotland* took the title of king of *Great Britain*.

The king sent the marquis *de Rhosny* to him as ambassador, to congratulate him upon his accession to the crown of *England*, to contract a close alliance with him, and engage him, which he did, in a league which the king had projected, wherein all the princes of *Europe* were to enter, to confine each particular monarchy within its own proper limits, and compel the house of *Austria* to relinquish and restore what was not its patrimony, particularly the kingdom of *Naples* and the dutchy of *Milan*, wherein it was proposed to establish distinct sovereigns.

At the beginning of the year 1604 the *Jesuits*, by virtue of the king's edict, were re-established in those places from whence they had been banished nine years before by decree of parliament, the jurisdiction of the parliament of *Paris* being excepted, wherein the king permitted them only to re-enter their college of *Lyons*, and to establish a new one in his house of *la Fleche*, which he gave them. Among the conditions on which his majesty granted them this reestablishment, which are contained in his edict, is the following: *That those of this society shall ordinarily have near the king one of their body who shall be a Frenchman, sufficiently approved among them to serve for a preacher, and to be answerable for the actions of their society, whenever any occasion might offer.*

Father *Coton* was appointed to discharge this duty: he was in great esteem for his eloquence, and having always accompanied the king, and frequently preached before him after his return from *Metz*, he had rendered himself very agreeable to his majesty. The parliament remonstrated against this reestablishment, and long refused to ratify the edict: but it was ratified at last on the 2d of *January* 1604.

The king suspected that the count *d' Auvergne* still continued his foreign correspondences, and formed enterprizes contrary to his service; and, when he thought he had proofs of this, he sent to him to come to court and trust to his clemency: the king's design was to send him out of *France* for some time under an honourable pretence, by sending him to serve in the wars in

Hungary. But the count replied, that he would not appear before the king till he should have received his pardon in form. He thought himself in safety in *Auvergne*, and hoped, by the assistance of his friends there, to defend himself in it; but he was deceived, for he found none that would act contrary to the king's service.

D'Eurie lieutenant of the duke de Vendome's company of gendarmes, and *Noreflang* colonel of a regiment of infantry, seized him near *Clermont*, and conducted him to the *Bastile*; after which he was tried by the parliament, together with the count d'*Entragues*.

The crime of both these persons was, the having taken measures to support the pretended right of the marquis de *Verneuil*, the king's natural son by the marchioness his mother, in prejudice of the dauphin; and they having with this design held correspondence with foreigners, and formed designs in concert with them, which could not be executed but in prejudice of the state and by a manifest revolt.

The foundation of these pretensions was, that the king, in the violence of his passion for the marchioness, had made her a promise of marriage; which he had shewn in confidence to the marquis de *Rhosny*, who, having got it into his hand, immediately tore it, and remonstrated to the king, with a liberty inspired by his zeal, and in a manner which might be called a sharp reprimand, how unworthy this action was of his majesty, and what dangerous consequences such a promise might have. The king in a great rage said he would immediately make another, which he accordingly did, and gave it to the marchioness, who having afterwards a son by the king, pretended that it was legitimate, and that the marriage which his majesty had contracted with the princess of *Florence* was null, because it could not be done but in prejudice to this promise. *Francis de Balzac* governor of *Orleans*, father of the marchioness, and count d'*Auvergne* his brother by the mother's side, espousing her interests, conspired together to support these vain pretensions.

The parliament, having examined into their designs and proceedings, condemned the counts d'*Entragues* and

and *d' Auvergne* to death, and ordered the marchioness to be confined in the abbey of *Beaumont les Tours*, till they should receive more ample information against her. This decree was issued the 1st of *February* 1604. The king suspended the execution of the sentence, and by his letters patent of the 15th of *April* following, he changed the punishment of the counts *d' Auvergne* and *d' Entragues* into a perpetual imprisonment. He permitted the marchioness *de Verneuil* to reside in her own house, and afterwards granted the same favour to the count *d' Entragues*. In the month of *September* following he by other letters patents abolished the memory of the crime of which the marchioness had been accused, and declared her for ever discharged from it.

The *Jesuits* also about this time felt the effects of the king's goodness, who, at the prayers of father *Coton*, permitted the pyramid to be demolished which had been erected as an eternal monument of infamy upon him who had attempted the king's life, and upon those who in any manner had contributed to so detestable an action.

The king had for some years suspected the fidelity of the marshal *de Bouillon*: his majesty was informed from different places, that he held intelligence in the kingdom with several who were discontented, and out of it with princes not in amity with the king; and that the city of *Sedan* was fixed on to serve as a retreat and fortress to a party which was forming.

The king sent to him to come to court; but, instead of obeying, he retired into *Germany*, where he stayed a considerable time. At last the king resolved to secure *Sedan*, and with this design went thither with troops sufficient to besiege it, in case he should meet with resistance. The marshal came to meet him, and assured him he would find all things disposed to receive and obey him. The king was satisfied with the duke's submissions; but he continued his march, and entered *Sedan*, where he was received with all the honours due to him. He placed a garrison in the place, and left *Netancourt* governor of it. He at the

same time granted the marshal letters of abolition for what was passed, left him the propriety and sovereignty of the city, and reserved to himself only the gates and fortifications.

The chancellor *de Bellievre* died in September 1607. His post was given to *Nicholas Brulart de Sillery*, who was at that time keeper of the seals. The following years were spent in those diversions which are generally the consequence of a profound peace. The king applied himself to cultivate and improve the arts in his kingdom; and peace and good order reigned throughout all the provinces till the year 1609, when the death of the duke of *Cleves* was the cause of dissension between those who pretended to his succession: the principal of which were the marquis of *Brandenbourg*, the duke of *Neufbourg*, and *Leopold* of *Austria* bishop of *Strasbourg*. As it seemed probable that the house of *Austria* would interest itself in this quarrel, and as there was reason to fear that house might from thence take occasion to oppress those whom it should judge proper, the princes and towns entered into a league to maintain the peace of *Germany*, and solicited the king to favour them in their design; which he promised to do: and that he might be able to execute this promise, and repress those who might be obstinate in their attempts to disturb the publick repose, he made great preparations for war. The remainder of the year 1609, and part of the year following, were employed in these preparations.

The war was already broke out with great violence in *Germany*: the king's army, one of the most formidable *France* ever saw, had its rendezvous round *Chalons* in *Champagne*. The king, being desirous to leave the queen regent of the kingdom in his absence, had caused her to be crowned at *Saint Dennis* the 13th of *May*, had made preparations for her solemn entry into *Paris* on the 16th of the same month, and was preparing himself to depart after that for *Germany*, when he was killed on *Friday* the 14th of *May*, in one of the publick streets, as he was going to see the preparations which he had directed for the queen's entry.

try. This parricide was committed by *Francis Ravail-lac* a practitioner in the law, who from a fury of madness, the cause of which is unknown to the publick. had long before formed the design of committing it. The Wretch had for some Days watched for an opportunity favourable to his purpose, and continually followed the king. At last an embarrassment in the Street having stopped the king's coach in a part of it where it was very narrow, and his guards not having followed him, *Ravaillac* came up; and, observing when the king looked the other way, he gave three thrusts with a knife, one of which pierced the *Vena Cava*: and thus this great king was killed in the midst of his most faithful servants.

There were with him in the coach the dukes *d'Espernon* and *Montbazon*, the marshals *de Lavardin* and *de Roquelaure*, the marquisses *de la Force* and *de Mirebeau*, and *Liancourt* his master of the horse: when he received the wound, he had his right arm upon the shoulder of the duke *de Montbazon*, and his left round the neck of the duke *d'Espernon*, who sat with him backwards in the coach. What is surprizing, and afterwards gave occasion to surmises disadvantageous to the duke *d'Espernon*, is, that it was on his side *Ravaillac* advanced to the coach, and gave the blow, after which he remained like one stupid, and continued to hold the bloody knife in his hand.

One of the gentlemen in ordinary was going to run him through directly with his sword; but the duke *d'Espernon* prevented him, and cried out that on his life he should not touch him.

L E W I S XIII,

King of France and Navarre.

THE day after the king's death, the parliament being assembled at the *Augustins*, *Lewis XIII*, son and successor of *Henry IV*, went thither with the queen his mother, and by the mouth of his

chancellor declared that princess regent of the kingdom, to have the administration of affairs during his minority. *Henry IV* left her the mother of six children, three sons and three daughters.

After this the trial of *Kavallac* was brought on : this wretch was condemned to have his flesh torn off with red hot pincers upon a scaffold in the square of the *Greve*, to have his right hand burnt off and then to be torn in pieces by four horses. The 17th of *October* following the king was crowned at *Rheims*.

The duke *de Sully* judging, he could not preserve the power he had under the late king, resigned the post of superintendant of the finances, and the government of the *Bastile* to the queen, kept the post of grand master of the artillery for his son, and retired to his government of *Poitou*, without shewing any desire to receive a recompence for the posts which he had quitted.

In the month of *October* of the year 1611 died the duke of *Orleans* second son of *France* : the title was given to monsieur *Gaston de Frante*, the king's only brother. Towards the end of this year, the *Jesuits* having obtained letters patent from the king to open their college of *Clermont*, the university opposed it ; and the affair was determined by the parliament by forbidding this college to be opened. At the same time a book was published, written by cardinal *Bel-larmin*, against the power of kings, which this cardinal maintained was subject to the spiritual power of the pope. This book had been written under the reign of *Henry IV* ; whose power was so formidable, even at *Rome*, that they had not dared to publish it there. Whether the death of this prince had freed the authors from all fear, or whether the enemies of the *Jesuits* were desirous to shew, by publishing this book, written by a *Jesuit*, what their doctrine was, it was however printed and dispersed throughout *France*. *Lewis Servin*, the king's attorney-general in the parliament of *Paris*, a man extremely zealous for the regal rights of his prince, caused the copies of it to be seized, and complained of it to the parliament, which

which ordered them to be burnt; but the pope's nuncio prevented the execution of this decree.

The queen's regency did not continue long peaceable: complaints were soon made of the government, the dissipation of the finances, the promotion of unworthy men to the principal employs, and several other disorders. Those of the reformed religion assembled at *Rochelle* without the king's leave, and made very insolent demands. The prince of *Condé*, the dukes of *Longueville*, *Mayenne*, and *Nevers*, retired from court, openly shewing their disapprobation of the present government; the queen placed guards in the *Louvre* about the duke de *Vendome*, who was suspected of holding a correspondence with them; but he soon after escaped and went into *Bretagne*, where he by force seized upon several towns, notwithstanding the resistance of the duke de *Montbazon*, the king's lieutenant-general in that province.

The prince of *Condé* armed on his side; and, the discontented lords having also raised troops, they joined him; so that a war would have been kindled throughout all the provinces of the kingdom, had not the duke of *Guise* by his counsels, persuaded the queen to take all the necessary steps to pacify matters. She sent the duke de *Ventadour* to the prince of *Condé*, to propose conditions of peace to him, which he rejected; but she sent again to him to propose others more advantageous; so that at last a peace was agreed on at *Saint Menehould* the 15th of *May* 1614; whereby it was agreed, that the states general should be immediately convoked to reform the disorders of the state.

The queen imagining the king's presence would strengthen the towns and people in their obedience, she caused him to make a tour into *Poitou* and *Bretagne*, during which the assembly of the states was convoked at *Paris*. Upon the king's return from this tour, being then thirteen years of age, he went to the parliament, accompanied by the queen his mother, monsieur his brother, the princes of the blood, and the great lords of the kingdom, and declared himself major: after which, the general assembly of the states was held at *Paris* in the convent of the *Augustines*.

In this assembly, the clergy demanded the council of *Trent* to be received in *France*, which the two other orders rejected, as being injurious to the authority of the kings in several respects ; besides that the resolution which this council had shewn, to establish an equality of rank between our kings and those of *Spain*, had obliged our ambassadors to make their protestations against whatever should be done therein.

The noblesse demanded a suppression of the venality of offices ; but this was rejected by the court.

The third estate demanded a solemn act to be passed, whereby it should be declared that the kings, in regard to temporals, and the government of their dominions, were not subject to any power ; and that all the subjects of the crown, of what condition or society soever, should acknowledge the truth of this maxim, and be obliged to act agreeable thereto. The clergy, instead of concurring in so just a demand, opposed it, by alledging that, this article being a point of religion and faith, the knowledge of it belonged only to the church : even the cardinal *du Perron* spoke upon this head in a manner exceeding different from the doctrine which has always been received in *France*.

The parliament deliberated upon the article proposed by the third estate, and by a decree of the 2d of *January* 1615 declared it just and necessary for the government of the kingdom. The clergy complained to the king of this action of the parliament ; and at their request the king forbade the parliament to proceed any farther upon this action : and thus the states separated without having done any thing that was of service to the kingdom. Soon after their separation, the duke *d'Espernon* having forced the prison of the abby of *St. Germain*, and having released a soldier from thence, the bailiff of *St. Germain* made complaint of it to the parliament. The duke *d'Espernon* at the same time went to the palace, believing his presence would intimidate the judges, and prevent them from taking cognizance of the affair. Some of the counsellors upon this occasion were treated with a good deal of insolence by some of the duke's retinue.

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The parliament, being insulted in their persons, caused information to be taken of the action: the duke *d'Espernon*, being alarmed at this procedure, had recourse to the king, who ordered the parliament to discontinue their proceedings in this affair for two days: the parliament obeyed; but at the same time they determined to cease the administration of justice to particular persons, till they should have received satisfaction for this insult upon their body. The king disapproved their resolution; but, nevertheless, he obliged the duke *d'Espernon* to go to the parliament, and make satisfaction for what had been done.

The government, the power, and the pride of *Conchino Conchiny*, marshal *d'Ancres*, was become universally odious: *Conchiny*, was a gentleman of *Florence*, who had come into *France* with the queen, and at first had served her in quality of gentleman in ordinary. The queen had about her person a young girl, the daughter of her nurse, named *Eleonora Galigai*, of whom she was passionately fond: *Conchiny* judging that the most certain way to advance his fortune would be to marry this girl, he demanded her in marriage, which was granted; and he was immediately loaded with riches and honours by the queen, entered into the ministry, and was made a marshal of *France* by the title of the marshal *d'Ancres*, he having purchased some Lands so called, which had been erected into a marquisate in his favour. He was become so powerful, that he disposed of all things in the kingdom: and, as he omitted no means of enriching himself, he amassed immense treasures, and used his power with so much pride, that he rendered himself odious to all, not excepting even the king, who long dissembled his sentiments, through respect for the queen his mother.

The prince of *Condé*, the count *de Soissons*, the dukes of *Longueville*, *Bouillon*, and *Mayenne*, the count *de Saint Paul*, and many others, having publicly shewed their indignation, by their discourses and manifestos, at the assembly of the state's not
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having been able to remedy the evils which this marshal caused in the kingdom, they assembled at *Coucy* to deliberate upon their common interests.

The king by letters patent ordered all the governors of the provinces to refuse entrance to all those who composed this assembly into those places where they commanded; and the 20th of *September*, his majesty being then upon the road towards the frontiers of the kingdom, to receive the infanta of *Spain*, whom he had espoused, and to conduct thither madam his sister, married to the prince of *Spain*, he published a declaration, importing that the prince of *Condé*, and all those who assisted him, were guilty of high treason. But this declaration did not deter the prince, and those who were leagued with him, from raising troops, and beginning to commit manifest acts of disobedience, by seizing upon the king's revenues and his towns in several of the provinces. Those of the reformed religion armed also in several places, and acknowledged the duke of *Roban* for their chief.

In the mean time the king, being arrived at *Bordeaux*, there waited the arrival of the queen his consort, and charged the duke of *Guise* to conduct his sister to the frontiers of *Spain*, and there receive the infanta. The exchange of these two princesses was made between *Saint John de Luz* and *Fontarabie*, in the midst of the river *Bidassoa*, whereon two pavilions were erected upon boats, in which the ceremony was performed, towards the end of the month of *November* in the year 1615. About the end of this year died the queen *Margaret of Valois*, the first queen of *Henry IV.*

Disorders and acts of hostility continued in several provinces to the middle of the year 1616, when matters were pacified in appearance by the edict of peace which the king published the 6th of *May*; after a conference held at *Loudun* between his ministers, and the discontented princes and lords: but, as these latter accepted the peace only to gain time to prepare for war, they soon began to resume their former

former practices. The queen judging it would be best to endeavour to prevent the impending evil, and believing she could even stifle it at once by securing the person of the prince of *Condé*, she caused him to be seized, even in the *Louvre*, by *Themines* the captain of her guards, who was made a marshal of *France* in recompence of this action. The populace, looking upon the marshal *d'Ancre* as the author of this prince's imprisonment, plundered his house, and entirely demolished it.

On the 25th of *November*, the seals, which had been taken from the chancellor *de Sillery*, and given to *du Vair* first president of the parliament of *Provence*, were again taken from this latter: *Mangot* secretary of State was made keeper of the seals, and his post was given to *John Armand du Pleffis de Richelieu* bishop of *Lucon*.

In the mean time *Luynes*, the king's confident and favourite, was projecting the destruction of the marshal *d'Ancre*: *Luynes* conversed with the king every night by his bedside, before he went to sleep. The king's apartment was always full of the marshal's spies, who informed him of these secret conversations; but he paid no regard to it, considering *Luynes* as incapable of converse upon any other subject than hunting, in which he was very expert; and the king had first taken a liking to him, from finding him more proper to follow and serve him in his diversion than any other. Nevertheless, the subject of these secret conversations was no other than the ruin of the marshal, who had rendered himself insupportable to the king by his pride, and the authority which he pretended to exercise over his majesty's person and actions. *Luynes*, perceiving the king's disposition, increased his aversion, by imputing to the marshal the frequent revolts of the princes and lords of the kingdom; which, indeed, was very true: he even intimated to his majesty, that the marshal meditated pernicious designs against the state; and he, at last determined him in a resolution to destroy this dangerous man,

man, whom it was impossible to deprive of his authority without taking away his life.

The order for this was given by *Luynes*, from the king, to *Vitry* captain of the guards; and it was executed the 24th of *April* 1617. The marshal entering the *Louvre*, accompanied as usual, by a great number of gentlemen, *Vitry* accosted him, by saying, *He arrested him in the king's name: Conchiny* stepped back as if to draw his sword; but he at that moment received three pistol-shot, of which he fell down dead upon the bridge: his wife was seized at the same time; and, being tried, she was condemned to be beheaded, which was executed in the square of the *Greve*. The corps of *Conchiny*, having been privately interred at *St. Germain l'Auxerrois*, was taken up by the populace, who dragged it through the streets, tore it in pieces, and then burnt it.

The duke *de Sully* says in his memoirs, that the marshal *d'Ancre* had often told him he was desirous to abandon the government and retire out of the kingdom, with leave of the king and queen, that he might secure his life and fortune, but that his wife would never consent to it; that he had a foreboding of his Misfortune: and that he did not believe he could avoid perishing miserably, if he stayed in *France*. But we are assured by others, that they had often heard him say, that he was resolved to follow and see the event of his fortune. It is possible he might have uttered both these different sentiments at different times.

The duke *de Mayenne*, the son of him who had been chief of the league, received an account of the death of the marshal *d'Ancre* at *Soissons* on the same day it happened. This place was then besieged by the count *d'Auvergne*, to whom the king, after having taken him out of prison, had given the command of his army; and the duke *de Mayenne*, being leagued with the malecontents defended it. As soon as he was informed of the death of the marshal *d'Ancre*, he sent the keys of the city to the king by the count *de la Suze*, protesting that it was not against his

his majesty, but against the marshal, that he had taken arms : and, the other princes and lords having made the same protestation (among others the dukes of *Vendome*, *Longueville*, and *Nevers*) they repaired to court.

It is not known whether the king's order in regard to the marshal *d'Ancre* was only to seize him, and not to kill him but in case of resistance, or whether his majesty absolutely commanded him to be killed ; but however this might be, it was for this action that the king first began to have the title given him of *Just. Vitry* in recompence was honoured with the dignity of marshal of *France*, vacant by the death of *Conchiny*. After this the king declared to the queen his mother, that he was resolved to govern the kingdom himself without the interposition of any one ; and that he had given orders for all things to be in readiness for her intended journey to *Blois* : it is not known whether he intimated to her his desire that she should go thither, or whether she had herself taken this resolution.

At the beginning of the year 1618, the duke *d'Espernon*, who was extremely attached to the interests of the queen mother, secretly repaired to her at *Blois*, and conducted her to *Angoulesme*. This princess chagrined at the injuries she pretended she had received, was wrought upon in such a manner by the cardinal *de la Rochefaucault*, the bishop of *Lucon*, and father *de Berulle*, who were afterwards cardinals, that she became reconciled to the king, and at last received the castles of *Angers* and *Chinon*, which he offered her in exchange for the government of *Normandy*, which she resigned. The agreement was made in the month of *June* 1619. The king, to satisfy the duke *d'Espernon* in regard to the abolition which he desired, for having caused the queen to leave *Blois*, and conducting her to *Angoulesme*, granted his letters patent, whereby he declared, that nothing which had been done upon this occasion should be imputed as a crime to any one. After this the queen went to her new government of *Angers*, where she
was

was received with great magnificence and demonstrations of affection by the nobility and gentry of that province. In the month of *October* following, the prince of *Condé* was taken by the king out of the wood of *Vincennes*, to which he had been removed from the *Bastile*, and was set at liberty.

The favour of *Luynes* increased daily : the lands of *Maille*, which he had purchased near *Tours*, were erected by the king into a ducal peerage, under the title of the dutchy of *Luynes*. The authority of this new favourite did not appear more supportable to the princes and great men, than that of the marshal *d'Ancre* ; at least it served them as a pretence to raise new disturbances, and unite themselves to the interests of the queen mother, who omitted nothing that might engage them in her party.

The queen, finding herself no longer able to resist, sued for peace, which was granted to her, and to all those who had taken arms in her favour. The king for this purpose granted his letters patent, wherein he declared, that he acknowledged the queen his mother innocent of every thing that had been done and attempted in this last war, and that all those who had been concerned in it were also blameless.

After this the king departed for *Bearn*, to subject those of that principality, who had long resisted his orders. His design was to get his edict for the re-establishment of the Catholick religion in their country, and the restitution of the possessions of the ecclesiasticks, confirmed in the council of *Paris*, and to get the rights of the clergy restored to them immediately. The king upon this occasion erected the sovereign council of *Paris* into a parliament, and united *Navarre* and *Bearn* to the crown of *France*. After this he returned to *Paris*, leaving *Aubry* counsellor of state at *Paris*, to see that his orders were put in execution.

Those of the reformed religion being alarmed by what the king had done in *Bearn*, or, rather, making this a pretence to revolt, they assembled at *Rochelle* the 25th of *December*, notwithstanding the king's commands

commands to the contrary. This assembly, forming itself into a kind of sovereign community, granted commissions for raising soldiers, and published several ordinances sealed with a seal, whereon was engraved a woman, representing religion, supported by a cross, holding a book, which meant the Evangelists, trampling under her feet a skeleton, by which they pretended to represent the church of *Rome*, and holding in her hand a bridle. In a short time *Bearn*, *Languedoc*, and *Vivarais* were in arms: the duke *de Luynes* from hence took occasion to represent to the king, that his service required some experienced general to be invested with the post of constable, which had long been vacant; and he at the same time pointed out the marshal *de Lesdiguières* as the person who without dispute the best deserved it.

The duke *de Luynes* did not dare to ask this post for himself, because he very well knew his merit was not such as ought to incline the king to bestow that post upon him, which his majesty had resolved to suppress. but he rightly judged, that, if the marshal *de Lesdiguières*, who was near eighty years of age, was once invested with it, it would then be easy for him to obtain it after the death of this old man.

The king, complying with his favourite's desire, caused a patent to be made out of the post of constable for the marshal *de Lesdiguières*, and sent it him by *Bullion* counsellor of state, who, when he presented it to him, said, his majesty hoped that in accepting this post he would return to the Catholic religion. The marshal without saying a word about religion, in answer alledged many reasons to convince the king, that he was no longer able to discharge the duty of this post; and he at last persuaded him to give it to the duke *de Luynes*.

In the mean time those of the reformed religion made themselves masters of the towns wherever they could, and seized the king's revenues in all those places where they happened to be the strongest. The assembly of *Rochelle*, carrying the revolt to the highest point of insolence that was possible, published

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a regulation, by which all *France* was divided into eight circles or departments, in each of which a general chief was established, to command all those of the reformed religion. The principal of these were the duke of *Bouillon* (to whom the assembly gave the general command of the armies throughout the kingdom) the duke of *la Tremouille*, *Rhoan*, and *Lesdiguières*.

The king, hastening to the place where the danger appeared greatest, went into *Xaintonge*, and there besieged *Saint John d'Angely*, a very strong place; and, notwithstanding the vigorous resistance made by *Soubize*, who defended the place with a strong garrison, he forced it to surrender; after which he demolished all its fortifications. *Soubize*, throwing himself at the king's feet, implored his pardon for what he had done, and promised never more to bear arms against his majesty; but he did not keep his word.

The cardinal *de Guise*, died during this siege, of a continual fever, which he caught by fatiguing himself too much at the taking of a part of the town which was carried by assault. This cardinal upon all occasions appeared in the thickest of the engagement, and gave proofs of a courage and valour, which were in a manner natural to those of his house, but which were by most people blamed in him, because they so ill became the ecclesiastical profession, which he had embraced.

After this siege the king went into *Guyenne* and *Gascogne*, where he subjected several places; among others, *Bergerac*, *Saint-Foy*, and *Clerac*. During the siege of this last place, *du Vair* the keeper of the seals died: he was a man of great merit: the marchioness *d'Ancre* had deprived him of them, to give them to *Mangot*; but six months after they were restored to *du Vair*, who kept them to the time of his death.

Guyenne having been brought to its duty by force of arms, the king passed into *Languedoc*, where he besieged *Montauban*, a strong place, wherein those of the reformed religion had placed a strong and numerous

rous garrison. This siege was long and fatal to the king's troops : the taking of the suburbs only lost many, but the taking of some forts and half moons lost still more : great numbers perished in divers assaults ; and, after all, the firm resolution of the besieged, their resistance, and the distempers which broke out in the king's army, obliged his majesty to raise the siege.

The blame of this bad success was imputed to the incapacity and inexperience of the constable: his enemies spoke of it in a manner highly disadvantageous to him ; which so offended him, that father *Arnoux* the king's confessor felt the effects of it. This *Jesuit* was in such great credit, that his majesty communicated to him all his designs, gave ear to his advice, and often followed it in his enterprizes : besides which, he entirely gave up to him the disposal of the greatest part of the benefices,

The constable reposed a particular confidence in the abbé *Rucelay* an *Italian* ; who, being irritated against father *Arnoux*, because he had not named him to his majesty to succeed in the archbishoprick of *Sens*, endeavoured to disturb the harmony, which subsisted between the constable and this *Jesuit* ; wherein he succeeded so well, that, having given the constable to understand that father *Arnoux* spoke ill of his conduct in the siege of *Montauban*, he persuaded him to endeavour to get him removed from court : the constable accordingly proposed this to the king who consented to it, and ordered this *Jesuit* to retire.

The siege of *Montauban* was succeeded by that of *Monfleur*, a very strong place, the taking of which cost the king a great number of men. His majesty, being incensed by the long resistance which this place made, refused to grant the garrison and inhabitants any other terms than barely their lives : the plunder of the town he gave to his soldiers ; after which he caused it to be burnt and entirely ruined, or at least he permitted his soldiers to do this. Towards the end of this siege the constable fell sick and died :
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and, though the king had appeared to love him extremely, he was but little affected by his death. He still continued some time to bestow his favours upon the dukes *de Luxembourg* and *de Chaulnes*, brothers to the late duke. The seals, which the constable had possessed since the death of *du Vair*, were given to *du Vic*; and the marshal *de Lesdiguières*, after having abjured the reformed religion, was honoured with the post of constable.

The king's return to *Paris* emboldened those of this religion to attempt new enterprizes and to commit great ravages in *Poitou*, *Guyenne*, and *Languedoc*; which determined the king to go again into these provinces. He set out in the month of *May* 1622; and after several engagements, which seemed to have entirely subdued the rebels, he took *Montpelier*, subjected all *Guyenne*, and forced the duke *de Rohan* to beg pardon, and implore his forgiveness, which he obtained.

After these glorious exploits, the king visited *Provence*; where he determined to see the city of *Avignon*, which he entered as sovereign, receiving the homage of all the orders, and exercising all the acts of sovereignty. During his stay here, the government of the city was regulated and administered by his grand provost: the keys of the prisons were put into the hands of the keeper of the seals: prisoners were released, and letters of pardon and remission were granted to some of the criminals detained therein: others his majesty directed to be tried by his officers, and caused their sentence to be executed: he nominated the canons in the cathedral church, which happened to be vacant during his stay. He went afterwards to *Grenoble*, and from thence to *Lyons* in the month of *November*. It was in this city that *Armand-John du Plessis de Richelieu* bishop of *Lucon* received the cap of cardinal, which the king had asked for him; at the same time his majesty made him his prime minister of state, and from thenceforward began to repose the care of the government entirely upon him.

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As soon as the king was returned to *Paris*, those of the reformed religion began to excite new disturbances, throughout all the provinces, with less violence, indeed, than before, but yet in a manner which tended to open rebellion: part of their proceedings were winked at; they were checked in some, and in others their demands were granted; and thus passed the year 1622, 1623, 1624. But, their insolence increasing daily, the king waited only for the conclusion of the war of *Valtiline* to employ his forces against them, and reduce them to such a state that they should be no longer able to act contrary to that obedience which was their duty.

Valtiline is a valley subject to the republick of the *Grisons*. The *Valtilineans* being Catholics, and the *Grisons* being become Protestants, the former pretended they were molested in the exercise of their religion by the governors and magistrates sent them by the *Grisons*; so that, revolting against them, they on a day appointed, put the governors, magistrates, and all those of the reformed religion to death, and put themselves under the protection of the government of *Milan*: this happened in the year 1620. The *Grisons*, being the allies of *France*, had recourse to the king, and desired him to interpose his authority and forces, to put them again in possession of a country which belonged to them. The king, taking them under his protection, sent *Bassompierre* ambassador to the king of *Spain*, to negotiate this affair, and put an end to it without war. It was agreed that *Valtiline* should be deposited in the pope's hands, who should place garrisons in all the towns, and should continue master of it till the difference between the *Valtilineans* and the *Grisons* their lords should be accommodated, and provision made for the security of religion; but the pope being inclined to favour *Spain* to the prejudice of *France*, sent as governor into that country a man attached to the interests of *Spain*, and filled the strong places in it, which were very numerous, with garrisons composed of soldiers mostly subject to the king of *Spain*. It was the king's interest
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to have this country possessed by his allies, that he might be able to make use of it as a passage into *Italy*.

The king of *Spain's* interest was to deprive the king of this passage, and to have it in his power, either for the passage of troops from *Germany* into *Italy*, or from *Italy* into *Germany*, according as the interests of the house of *Austria* might require.

The king therefore, being solicited by the *Switzers*, by the *Grifons*, and by his own particular interest, in the year 1624 sent troops into *Valtiline* under the command of the marquis de *Cœuvres* chief of the house of *Etree*, on whom he conferred the title of his lieutenant general, and his ambassador extraordinary to the *Switzers* and their allies, that with the aid of the *Grifons*, he might retake all the towns and forts of which they had been deprived; which this general gloriously performed, to the great honour of his master and himself; and by his great actions merited the being made a marshal of *France*. This war, wherein *Spain*, *Italy*, and *Germany* were concerned, lasted two years, and was ended by a treaty, whereby it was agreed that the forts of *Valtiline* which remained (for the marquis de *Cœuvres* had demolished part of them) should be deposited in the pope's hands, till the means were agreed upon for the preservation of the Catholick religion in the country, and that then they should be demolished; that the *Grifons* should retake possession of this country; but that they should place no governors nor magistrates therein but such as should be agreeable to the *Valtilineans*; and that the passage through this Valley should be free both to the *French* and *Spaniards*. This treaty was concluded in the year 1626.

The dukes of *Rhoan* and *Soubize*, forgetting what they had promised the king, put themselves at the head of those of the reformed religion, and commenced the war; the former in *Languedoc*, and the latter by commanding the fleet of the *Rochellers*. The success of this war was for some time various; but at last *Soubize* was defeated by sea in several engagements

gagements by *Thoiras*, who commanded the king's ships. The duke of *Rohan*, and those who commanded under him, were also defeated in divers places by the marshals *de Montmorency* and *de Themines*; so that those of the reformed religion, finding themselves no longer able to resist the king's forces, sued for peace, and made great protestations to be more submissive for the future: a peace was accordingly granted them by an edict published by the king.

It was at this time that pope *Urban VIII* sent cardinal *Barbarini* as his legate into *France*, to bring about an accommodation which might put an end to the war in *Valtiline*. He was received in *Paris* with the same magnificence as the king himself would have been in a solemn entry. He required the bishops not to appear before him in the habit which they usually wore in ceremonies, pretending they ought not to have the mark of their dignity in his presence, because that of the pope, whom he represented, effaced all others; but the custom being contrary to this pretension, his demand was not complied with. The proposals which he made touching the affair of *Valtiline* not appearing consistent with the king's honour and dignity, no regard was paid to them; and the peace was not concluded till the year following.

On the 11th of *May* 1625, the duke of *Chevreuse*, as proxy for *Charles I*, king of *Great-Britain*, espoused *Henrietta-Maria* of *France*, the king's sister, in the church of *Notre Dame* at *Paris*. The ceremony was performed by the cardinal *de la Rochefaucault*, though the archbishop of *Paris* pretended that it was his right to officiate in his own church; but the king decided in favour of the cardinal upon account of his rank as grand almoner of *France*. On the 2d of *June* the duke of *Buckingham*, ambassador extraordinary from the king of *Great Britain*, set out from *Paris* with this princess to conduct her into *England*.

The king was desirous that monsieur his brother should espouse *Mary* of *Bourbon Montpensier*, princess

of the blood and the sole heirs to the possessions of that house ; but this prince refused to consent to the marriage, considering it only as an expedient which cardinal *de Richelieu* was desirous to use to prevent his rendering himself considerable, and acquire support out of the kingdom by an alliance with some foreign prince. The marshal *d'Ornano* governor of monsieur, and the count *de Chalais*, of the house of *Tallerand*, master of the wardrobe to the king, who had the greatest influence over monsieur, were suspected of having inspired him with these sentiments, and confirmed him in his hatred of cardinal *Richelieu*.

This minister caused the marshal to be seized first at *Fontainebleau*, and from thence conducted to *Vincennes*. Monsieur openly shewed his resentment of this injury, but in vain. He reproached the chancellor *d'Aligre* with having advised the detention of the marshal ; but *d'Aligre* denied this, and affirmed that he had been of a contrary opinion ; which declaration so displeased the cardinal, that he caused the seals to be taken from him ; which were given to *Marillac* superintendant of the finances and the finances to the marquis *d'Effiat*. The chancellor being thus disgraced in the year 1626, retired to his house of *la Riviere* where he spent the remainder of his life. He had received the seals at the beginning of the year 1624, and had been made chancellor after the death of *Sillery* towards the end of the same year.

Thus the court changed its face at the will of the minister. At the same time when the seals were taken from *Sillery* to be given to *d'Aligre*, *Puiseux* was dismissed, and his place of secretary of state given to *Beauclerc*. Some months after the king went to *Nantes*, where at last monsieur did espouse mademoiselle *de Montpensier* ; upon which occasion the dutchess of *Orleans* and *Chartres*, and the county of *Blois*, were given to him as an appennage.

The king having caused *Chalais* to be seized, he erected a chamber, composed of some officers of the parliament of *Rennes* and some masters of requests, before whom he was tried. The keeper of the seals presided

presided in passing sentence, by whom he was condemned to be beheaded, as being guilty and convicted of the crime of high treason, in having induced monsieur to form a party in the state against the king, and by having himself served in the execution of this design: this sentence was executed at *Nantes* the 19th of *August* 1626. The cardinal *de Richelieu*'s intention was to have the marshal *d'Ornano* brought also to his trial upon the same account; but he died at *Vincennes*, before the king's return to *Paris*, not without suspicion of poison.

In the month of *September* following *Francis de Bonne*, duke of *Lesdiguières*, and constable of *France*, died in *Dauphiné*: by his courage and prudence he had gained the reputation of being one of the greatest generals of his time. He died with the glory of having always remained faithful to the king, without engaging in the factions of the discontented princes, or in the continual revolts of those in the reformed religion, which religion he professed almost all his life, being converted only a short time before he was honoured with the post of constable.

After his death the king by an edict suppressed this great post, as also that of admiral of *France*, vacant by the dismissal of *Henry* duke of *Montmorency* marshal of *France*, son of the constable of the same name. The authority and business of this post were given to cardinal *de Richelieu*, under the title of grand master, chief and superintendant-general of the navigation and commerce of *France*.

The same year the parliament condemned, and caused to be burnt by the common executioner, a book written by *Anthony Santarel*, a *Jesuit*, touching the power of the pope, to whom he attributed a power to depose kings and free their subjects from their oath of fidelity; and at the same time the court desired to know of the *Jesuits* whether they approved the doctrine contained in this book, and whether it was that of their society? They came to the number of seven, and protested that they taught a doctrine quite contrary

trary to that of *Santarel*, touching the power of the pope and that of kings.

In the mean time affairs in *England* were disposed to a rupture with *France*. *Soubize*, who was there used his utmost efforts to engage king *Charles* in the interests of those of the reformed religion, and even made him conceive suspicions of all the officers, as well ecclesiasticks as others, which the queen had brought from *France*, and had kept about her own person, agreeable to what had been stipulated in the marriage-contract between the king her brother and the king of *Great Britain*; which latter, considering these persons as dangerous in his kingdom, upon account of the Catholic religion, which they professed (for which very reason the queen had demanded them) sent them all back into *France*, not excepting even the women who were most immediately about the queen's person. This happened about the end of the month of *July* 1626.

The king, being offended at this injury done to the queen his sister, sent the marshal *de Bassompierre* as his ambassador extraordinary to the king of *Great Britain*, to make complaints of it; but he received not the least satisfaction; and, the affair causing a difference between the *French* and *English*, they began to stop and seize each others ships and merchandize.

The duke of *Buckingham*, who possessed the favour of the king his master, and who imagined that a great enterprize, of which he should himself be the chief, was necessary for him to preserve it, caused the king and council of *England* to resolve upon a declaration of war against *France*. *Soubize* and *Saint Blancart*, who were in *England* to take care of the interests of those of the reformed religion, persuaded the duke that, the *English* being favoured and assisted by so considerable a party as theirs was, and having such a town as *Rockelle* at their devotion, it would be easy for them to make great conquests in *Guyenne*.

The duke of *Buckingham* in effect set sail with a fleet of 150 vessels, with design to begin his expedition by surprizing the isles of *Re* and *Oleron*, which
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were near *Rochelle*. He at the same time published a manifesto which was dispersed in *France* and other kingdoms, wherein it was declared, that the king of *France* not performing what he had promised his subjects of the reformed religion, when he granted them peace at the request of the king of *Great Britain*, but on the contrary suffering the papists to oppress them, his *Britannick* majesty therefore sent his army into *France* to restore the liberty of the reformed churches, and to demolish *Fort Lewis*, which menaced *Rochelle*.

The king, after having sent the duke d'*Angoulesme*, formerly called count d'*Auvergne*, to put himself at the head of his troops, and oppose the enemy, set out himself to go where his presence might be necessary; but on the first day of his departure he fell sick, and was forced to stop at *Villeroy*.

The duke d'*Angoulesme* being arrived before *Rochelle*, and having in vain endeavoured to persuade the *Rochellers* to pay that obedience to the king which was their duty, he invested it by land, and commenced the siege; soon after which the duke of *Orleans* arrived, and took the command of the army in quality of general, agreeable to a commission which he had received from the king, and the duke d'*Angoulesme* served under him in quality of lieutenant-general. About this time the dutchess of *Orleans*, died in child bed, after having brought into the world a Princess, which was mademoiselle de *Montpensier*.

The king being desirous above all things to abolish the custom of duels in his kingdom, had prohibited them on very severe penalties; and they were become less frequent, when *Bouteville*, of the house of *Montmorency*, who had rendered himself famous by several combats of this nature, in which he had engaged in contempt of the king's authority, and for which he kept out of the kingdom, having been out-lawed and condemned to death, came to *Paris* to fight the marquis de *Beuvron* and two others; they fought in the *Place Royale*, and the marquis de *Bussy d'Amboise* was there killed; whereupon the others

took different ways to get out of the kingdom, and secure themselves against the rigour of the laws; but *Boutewille* and his second the count *de Chapelle*, were seized in *Picardie*, and brought to *Paris*, where they were condemned to be beheaded by an arret of parliament passed the 21st of *June*.

On the 22d of *July* the *English* fleet, commanded by the duke of *Buckingham*, cast anchor in the road of the isle of *Re: Thoiras*, who commanded the king's troops there, came out of the fort of *Saint Martin* at the head of about 11000 men, to prevent them from making a descent in the island. An engagement ensued, which was very bloody: *Saint Blancart*, who with *Soubize* had the most contributed to the coming of the *English*, was killed by the first discharge, but notwithstanding the vigorous resistance made by *Thoiras*, the *English* troops made their descent, repulsed and drove our troops into the fort, and besieged it.

The king, being arrived before *Rochelle* on the 18th of *October*, resolved to continue the siege, and at the same time to succour the isle of *Re*: and orders being given for this succour, he gave the command of the troops destined for it to the marshal *de Schomberg*, who successfully made his descent, attacked the enemy, put them into confusion, and made such a great slaughter among them, that but very few of them regained their vessels. The *English*, being thus driven out of the isle of *Re*, had no longer courage to attempt other descents in any part of his majesty's dominions, nor to succour *Rochelle*; the entrance of whose port was secured against them by the most celebrated boom that is mentioned in all history, since that which *Alexander the Great* caused to be placed before the city of *Tyre*.

Rochelle is situated at the extremity of a little gulph or canal, which is formed by the sea. Cardinal *Richelieu*, judging that it might always be supplied with troops and ammunition so long as the entrance of the port should continue free to the enemy, and that consequently it would be impregnable, resolved to block up the entrance by a boom, of which

which he had already conceived the design. He employed in the execution of it a celebrated *Italian* engineer named *Pompey Targon*, and an able mason of *Paris* named *John Tariau*: these two men contrived admirable machines, and executed all their designs with such success, that none of their works failed producing the effects proposed by them. The work was begun in a part where the entrance was 740 fathoms abroad, at such a distance from the town as was rather within cannon-shot, yet such that the besieged could not take aim at the place but by guess.

The king, feeling some inconvenience from the air of the sea, was advised by his physicians to change it for some time for that of *Paris*. He quitted the camp before *Rochelle* in the month of *March* 1628, and left the command of the army and the conduct of every thing to cardinal *Richelieu*, under the title of general; the duke *d'Angoulesme* and the marshals *de Bassompierre* and *de Schomberg* serving under him as lieutenant-generals: but he returned thither in the month of *April* following, upon advice sent him by the cardinal that the king of *England* was equipping a fleet for the relief of *Rochelle*.

Letters were at the same time seized, by which it was discovered, that, the *Rochellers* having offered the king of *Great Britain* to renounce the *French* dominion and submit themselves to him, provided he would powerfully assist them, this prince had accepted their offers, and had promised them great succours: in effect, the *English* fleet under the command of *Robert Bertie* earl of *Lindsey*, appeared before *Rochelle* on the 11th of *May*: the cardinal made all the proper dispositions to oppose them: but they did not think fit to attempt any thing; and after having continued about fifteen days in sight of *Rochelle*, but out of reach of the king's cannon, they retired, which caused such a great consternation among the *Rochellers*, that at the beginning of *September* they sent deputies to the Cardinal to treat about the surrender of their town: and a treaty would have been concluded immediately, had not two messengers sent

express from *England* assured them that a powerful fleet was preparing to succour them under the command of the duke of *Buckingham*, who was desirous to regain his honour, which he had lost at the defeat of the isle of *Re*. But, this duke being afterwards assassinated by *Felton*, the command of the fleet was given to lord *Willoughby*, who, being arrived on the 28th of *September* within sight of *Rochelle*, did not dare to make any attempt, concluding it would be impossible at once to engage the king's fleet and force the mole; so that he also retired, leaving the *Rochellers* destitute of all hopes of relief. They were reduced to the last extremity: all things failed them, but more especially provisions, they not having any thing left that is usually eatable: their hunger compelled them to devour even the leather harness of coach-horses, and other things of that nature; so that, no longer having any resource, they implored the king's clemency, who pardoned their revolt, and left them a considerable part of their privileges. The king returned to *Paris*, and left *de Vignoles* commander of his armies at *Rochelle* with a strong garrison, to demolish all its fortifications, which was executed accordingly.

In the mean time the duke *de Roban*, continuing his rebellion, contrary to the promises which he had made the king, was at the head of about 5000 men, with which he ravaged *Languedoc* and *Guyenne*. The parliament of *Tholouse* had passed an arret against him, whereby he was condemned to be torn in pieces by horses, whenever he should be taken, his possessions confiscated, and his posterity declared ignoble: but, this arret having only irritated him, he had rendered himself master of many towns: whereupon the king conferred the command of his armies upon the prince of *Condè*, appointing him to oppose the enterprizes of this duke, and commanding the dukes of *Montmorency* and *d'Espèrnon* to act under the orders of this prince in subjecting to his majesty such towns as were in possession of those of the reformed religion; so that

that the war was prosecuted with great vigour in these two provinces, with various success on both sides.

The siege of *Rochelle*, and the almost universal revolt of those of the reformed religion, had caused the enemies of *France* to believe that the king, being sufficiently employed within his own dominions, was not in a condition to undertake any thing out of them: and therefore the king of *Spain* and the duke of *Savoy* leagued together, with design to deprive the duke of *Mantua* of *Montferrat*. This dutchy is a fief of the empire, and it was under the tile of marquisate, as well as that of *Mantua*, when the emperor *Charles V* erected both of them into dutchies in favour of *Frederick II* of *Gonzagua*, who espoused *Margaret Paleologus*, and had *Montferrat* with her.

Vincent II duke of *Mantua* and *Montferrat*, son of *Lewis de Gonzagua*, and grand-son of this *Frederick II*, in whose person *Montferrat* had come into his house by marriage, was the issue of his father *Lewis* and a princess of the house of *Cleves*, who brought him the dutchies of *Nevers* and *Rhetel*: and besides these two dutchies, he possessed those of *Mayenne* and *Esquillon*, and the principality of *Pont d'Arche*, which contains the town of *Charleville*. This prince dying without children, *Charles de Gonzagua* duke of *Nevers*, his nearest relation and lawful heir, went to take possession of his succession, and was received in *Mantua* in quality of duke by all the orders of that little state, who took the oath of fidelity to him.

The duke of *Guastalla*, of the house of *Gonzagua*, but of a more distant branch, disputed his right to the state of *Mantua*; and the duke of *Savoy* on frivolous pretences disputed his right to *Montferrat*, took up arms, and made himself master of several towns in this dutchy.

Gonzales de Cordova, governor of *Milan* proposed to the duke of *Mantua* the sequestration of *Montferrat* in the hands of the king of *Spain*, till the difference between him and the duke of *Savoy* should be adjusted. But, the duke of *Mantua* having rejected

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this propofal, *Gonzales* entered *Montferrat* with an army, and befieged *Caxal*.

At the fame time the emperor, favouring the *Spaniards*' design, pretended to be offended with the duke of *Mantua* for having ſent his ſon to him, inſtead of coming himſelf, to demand the inveſtiture of the dutchy of *Milan*; and on this pretence he prepared to ſeize the dutchy of *Mantua*, while the king of *Spain* and the duke of *Savoy* were employed in the taking of *Montferrat*.

The king was at the ſiege of *Rochelle*, when the duke of *Mantua*, being attacked on all ſides, begged his proteſtion. Nothing more could then be done for him than to give him leave to raiſe forces in *France*: but, after the taking of *Rochelle*, the king no longer thought of any thing but ſuccouring the prince who was his ally and his vaſſal: for this purpoſe he cauſed an army of 22000 foot and 3000 horſe to march on that ſide, and ſet out to put himſelf at the head of them in the month of *February* 1629. The duke of *Savoy* having refuſed him a paſſage, he forced the paſs of *Suza*, and even made himſelf maſter of the town and caſtle.

The duke, being no longer able to reſiſt the king's arms, and fearing, with reaſon, leſt he ſhould attack his own territories, by the way, ſued for peace, and concluded a treaty, whereby he promiſed to grant the king a free paſſage through his territories into *Montferrat*, whenever his majeſty ſhould pleaſe to furniſh his troops with proviſions upon their paying for them, and to reſtore to the duke of *Mantua* all that he had taken from him in *Montferrat*, except the town of *Trin*, and ſome others ſpecified, which the duke of *Savoy* was to hold, in lieu of 15000 crowns due to him upon *Montferrat*.

Gonzales, finding himſelf unable to reſiſt the king entered into a treaty, and promiſed, on the part of the king of *Spain*, to raiſe the ſiege of *Caxal*, and cauſe the emperor to give the duke of *Mantua* the inveſtiture which he had refuſed him, and prevail on him no longer to diſturb this prince in the poſſeſſion of his

his territories. This treaty was ratified by the king of Spain; *Gonzales* raised the siege of *Caxal*, the king placed a *French* garrison in it, under the command of *Thoiras*, and kept the town and citadel of *Suza* (the government of which he gave to the marshal *de Crequy*) as an hostage for the duke of *Savoy's* fidelity, agreeable to the conditions of the treaty.

In the mean time the duke *de Roban* had entered into a treaty with the king of Spain, and had obliged himself to recommence the war, and continue it, in consideration of the money with which his Catholick majesty obliged himself to furnish him: he caused those of the reformed religion to rise throughout almost all the provinces, and especially in lower *Languedoc*, *Dauphinè*, and *Vivarez*.

The king, having repassed the *Alps* with his army, resolved to reduce the rebels, and besiege the town of *Privas* in the *Vivarez*, which had revolted the first: at this siege the marquis *d'Uxelles* was killed.

After the taking of *Privas*, the king caused other places to be besieged; which were also taken, some by assault, others by capitulation: those of the reformed religion on their side also gained advantages, which kept up their courage: but at last the war was concluded by a peace, which the king granted them by an edict published at *Nismes* in the month of *July* 1629; after which his majesty returned to *Paris*, and ratified the peace and renewal of alliance with *England*. The cardinal *de Richelieu* stayed some time longer in *Languedoc*, to give orders for the demolition of the fortifications of several places, and, among others, of *Montauban*.

About this time died cardinal *de Berulle*, institutor of the society of the oratory, who not having been in the interests of cardinal *de Richelieu*, but, on the contrary, having secretly endeavoured to prejudice him in the opinion of the queen mother, it was publicly reported, perhaps by the cardinal's enemies, that he had caused him to be poisoned.

The troubles of *France* having caused the duke of *Savoy* to imagine that he might break the treaty of
Suza

Suza with impunity, and take the opportunity of the revolt of those of the reformed religion to seize upon *Montferrat*, he leagued with the emperor and the king of *Spain* for the execution of this design; and the marquis *de Spinola* entered this dutchy with the *Spanish* Troops, and again besieged *Caxal*: at the same time also *Cotalta*, general of the emperor's troops besieged *Mantua*.

The king, having given peace to those of the reformed religion, commanded the marshal *de la Force* to go immediately into *Italy* with such troops as were then ready to march, for the relief of the duke of *Mantua*, while the cardinal *de Richelieu* should be making preparations to go thither with more powerful forces. The king was desirous of going thither also: but it was judged more adviseable that he should continue in the kingdom, to prevent by his presence the enterprizes which might be made by his brother the duke of *Orleans*, who had retired into *Lorraine*, upon the king's having refused to give him leave to espouse the princess *Mary* daughter of the duke of *Mantua*, whom he loved. The cardinal, having assembled forces to the number of twenty-four or twenty-five thousand men, passed the *Alps*, at the beginning of the year 1630, at the head of this army. He commanded it in quality of general, and had under him, as lieutenant-generals, the marshals *de Crequy*, *de la Force*, and *de Schomberg*.

It was believed that the cardinal desired to command this army, that he might be able to march as far as *Rome*; when the pope, being in a declining state of health, might die, and he oblige the cardinals, through fear of his forces, to chuse him pope. But, however this might be, he passed the *Alps*; and having discovered that the duke of *Savoy* was leagued with the emperor and the king of *Spain*, and that this alliance was to oppose the king's designs, he turned his arms against him, besieged *Pignerol*, and took it at the beginning of *April*.

In the mean time, the king having recalled the duke of *Orleans*, and having satisfied his discontent,
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by increasing his appenage with the donation of the dutchy of *Valois*, he entered with other forces into *Savoy*, the greatest part of which he subjected; but the bad state of his health obliged him to return to *Lyons*, where he was very dangerously ill.

In the mean time the army in *Piedmont*, commanded by the marshal *de la Force*, in the absence of the cardinal, who was returned to *Lyons*, took the city of *Salucio* the 21st of *August*. Five days after died *Charles-Emanuel* duke of *Savoy*, aged sixty-eight years: he had shewn great courage in the wars which he had carried on against *Henry IV* and *Lewis XIII*, though he had always been unfortunate in them: he was succeeded by his eldest son *Victor-Amadeus*, prince of *Piedmont*, who had espoused the king's sister. The city of *Mantua* was surprized in the night by *Cotalior*; and, the duke having retired into the citadel with the marshal *d'Etrees*, was forced to surrender a few days after.

During all these acts of hostility, the negotiations of peace were not interrupted: *Julio Mazarin*, an *Italian* gentleman, sent by his holiness to negotiate with the ministers of the princes who were in arms, by his care and continual journies between the generals of the armies of the two parties who had power to treat, prevailed so far, that at last he concluded a truce between them, from the 4th of *September* to the 15th of *October*, during which the marquis *Spinola* died.

Mazarin constantly continued his negotiations for the peace; but, the *Spaniards* refusing to accept the reasonable terms which were proposed to them by the king's ministers, acts of hostility were renewed as soon as the truce was expired. Our army marched towards *Caxal*; and the enemy, quitting their intrenchments, seemed disposed to come to an engagement with the *French* troops, who were come to attack them; when *Mazarin*, having persuaded the chiefs of the *Spanish* army that the conditions which had been proposed to them were just, and that it was more for the king of *Spain's* interest to accept them,
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than to hazard the being defeated by an army which had made conquests, appeared with his hat in his hand between the two armies, who were upon the point of making the attack; and, advancing towards the *French*, cried aloud, that he brought peace upon the terms which they had themselves proposed. It was with great difficulty that the ardour of the officers and soldiers, who breathed nothing but battle, was restrained: some of them gave *Mazarin* injurious language, and even offered to fire upon him; but the generals, being fully satisfied of the truth of what he said, caused the army to halt; and, the generals of the enemy's army being come up, a treaty was concluded whereby the Imperialists and *Spaniards* promised to restore to the duke of *Mantua* all the towns which they had taken from him, to leave him in the peaceable possession of the *Mantuan* and *Montferrat*, and to withdraw all their troops from these two duchies; in consideration of which, the *French* also promised to retire from thence, and also out of *Piedmont*: thus a battle was prevented, which might perhaps have proved fatal to both parties, and which would not have gained the king any thing more than was given him by this treaty. But, as it was not sufficiently authentick, and as it was more likely to suspend the war than conclude it, *Mazarin*, continuing his offers on both sides, under the authority of *Pancirolli* the pope's nuncio, laboured so successfully, that he brought about a conference at *Querasque*, between the ministers of the emperor, the marshal *de Thoiras*, and *Servien* secretary of state, who concluded a treaty of peace, wherein the duke of *Savoy* was included. The principal articles were the same with those which had been before agreed on before *Cazal*; besides which it contained the king's restitution to the duke of *Savoy* of all that he had taken from him. This treaty was concluded the 6th of *April* 1631. In the same month of the year following, the duke of *Savoy*, having entered into a closer alliance with the king, gave up to him the city of *Pignerol* with its dependencies.

In the mean time the queen mother was so incensed against the cardinal, whose authority had entirely destroyed hers, that she told the king she would no longer assist in his council, if the cardinal continued to enter it: all the other means which she had used to ruin him having failed, it provoked her to this extremity. Her hatred against this minister was increased and supported by the marshal *de Marillac*, and his brother the keeper of the seals, by father *Ghanteloupe* priest of the oratory, the cardinal *de Berulle*, the duke *de Belle Garde*, and the marshal *de Bassompierre*.

The cardinal, who was informed of all their designs and all their proceedings, took such measures, that they wrought their own ruin. Cardinal *de Berulle* died. The *Marillacs* were disgraced towards the end of the preceding year; the seals, taken from one of them, were given to *Charles de l'Aubespine de Chateauneuf*; and the marshal, being seized and imprisoned, was accused of several crimes, and condemned to death, as we shall see: and, as to the others they were punished, either by being banished from court, or by being deprived of their places or other possessions. It is said, that the cardinal, having been informed of the opinions which each of them had proposed, in a conference which they had had at *Lyons* during the king's dangerous illness (wherein it had been deliberated, what they should do with him, when they should have deprived him of his majesty's favour) caused the same punishment to be inflicted upon each of them, which they had destined for him.

The queen having carried her resentment so far, the king at last caused her to be told that it was his desire she should retire to her seat at *Moulins*; which so incensed this princess, and so highly offended monsieur, that he left the court, after having declared to the cardinal that he would espouse the interests of the queen his mother against him, and that he would take vengeance for the injury which had been done her. The same day the king made the cardinal a visit in his own house, and assured him that he would
always

always love him, and would protect him against all his enemies ; and, to give a fresh proof of his affection, he erected the lands of *Richelieu* into a ducal peerage.

Monfieur retired into *Lorraine*, and the queen mother into the *Low-Countries*, from whence she wrote to the king, and afterwards publicly declared, that the reason of her retiring out of the kingdom was, that she might be secured from the wicked designs of the cardinal, who had proposed to put her to death between four walls.

In the mean time the war was carried on with great violence in *Germany*, where *Gustavus Adolphus*, king of *Sweden*, had made great conquests. This prince, having concluded a peace with the king of *Poland*, turned his arms against the emperor, who had assisted the *Poles* against the *Swedes* : and in less than a year he conquered the greatest part of *Germany*, and defeated whatever opposed his progress.

He had concluded a treaty with *France*, whereby he engaged to carry on the war in *Germany* with an army of forty thousand men ; for which purpose, and for the defence of all the princes who were in alliance with *France* and *Sweden*, for the re-establishment of the princes, states, and cities of the empire, in the same condition they were in, before the house of *Austria* had seized the one, and oppressed the other, the king was to furnish him annually with one million of livres. The king took the necessary precautions and security in this treaty for the preservation of the Catholick religion.

The duke of *Lorraine* having secretly leagued with the emperor against *France*, the king marched towards his territories with a powerful army to make a conquest of them, which so intimidated the duke that he came to the king at *Metz*, made him all kinds of submissions, and at last concluded a treaty with him ; whereby he relinquished all intelligence, league, or association with any prince or state whatsoever not in alliance with *France* ; and the king, on his part, engaged to defend the state and territories of this duke,

duke, against whoever should make attempts upon them. This treaty was concluded at *Vic* in the month of *January* 1632.

On the 8th of *May* in the same year the marshal *de Marillac* was condemned, by the commissioners whom the king had appointed to try him, to be beheaded, This sentence was executed two days after at *Paris* in the square of the *Greve*. He was condemned for the great gains which he had made by the sale of the fortifications, and citadel of *Verdun*, and by that of the provisions for the troops. Yet it is said, that he had given less cause by his conduct for this condemnation, than any of those who had the like employs at that time. His brother, who had been keeper of the seals, died soon after at *Chateaudun*, where he was confined.

The marshal *d'Etrees*, commanding the king's army in *Germany*, besieged the city of *Treves*, which the *Spaniards* occupied with a very strong garrison, having been called into it by the inhabitants, who had put themselves under the protection of *Spain*, at the same time that the archbishop their sovereign had put himself under that of *France*. Count *d'Ifembourg*, the king of *Spain*'s lieutenant-general in the *Low-Countries*, came to the relief of this place; but the marshal *d'Etrees*, having defeated him, compelled the besieged to surrender.

The duke of *Lorraine*, who was the most inconstant prince that ever lived, disregarding the treaty he had concluded with the king, raised troops to favour the designs of monsieur, who marched with forces towards the frontiers of *France*; but the king, having caused his army in *Germany* to enter *Lorraine*, constrained this duke again to have recourse to his clemency: several places in this dutchy were taken by the king, who repaired thither to head his army, and concluded a new treaty with the duke; to secure the observance of which, the towns of *Jamets* and *Stenay* were given to his majesty: *Marsal* had before been given to him for the security of the former treaty.

Monsieur,

Monsieur, being upon the point of entering the kingdom with some troops which he had drawn from the *Low Countries*, from *Lorraine*, and even out *France*, published a manifesto, dated the 13th of *June* 1632, wherein he accused the cardinal *de Richelieu* of a design to make himself master of the kingdom, declared that his own design was to oppose the dangerous enterprizes of this minister, and exhorted all the *French* to join him, protesting he would hold all those for enemies who should oppose his good intentions. After this he entered *Burgundy*, and from thence he went into *Languedoc*, where the duke *de Montmorency*, governor of the province, received and joined him, in violation of his duty and fidelity to the king.

The king immediately left *Paris*, to go himself and oppose the enterprizes of monsieur, and at the same time caused twenty thousand men to march for this expedition; but, before his arrival in the province, the duke *de Montmorency*, who commanded the troops of monsieur, was defeated near *Castlenaudary* by the marshal *de Schomberg*, and taken prisoner, having received several wounds, some of which were very dangerous.

After this defeat, the king sent to offer a pardon to monsieur his brother, upon condition that he should renounce all confederacies or parties that were contrary to his service; which this prince accepted, and endeavoured to get the duke *de Montmorency*'s pardon included in this agreement; but he could not obtain it, though he used the most pressing solicitations.

The king, being arrived at *Thoulouse*, on the 22d of *October* caused this duke to be brought thither, and commanded the parliament of that city to try him: the affair was not doubtful nor difficult to determine; so that his judges unanimously condemned him to be beheaded. The keeper of the seals presided in pronouncing this sentence, which was executed in the court of the hotel *de Ville*, wherein he was imprisoned; the king having directed that the execution, contrary to what had been decreed in pas-

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ing sentence, should not be publick. Monsieur, being offended at the king's refusal to grant a pardon to the duke *de Montmorency*, and pretending that he had given him hopes of it, though he had refused to include him in the treaty of *Montpellier*, retired into *Flanders*.

Towards the end of this year, the king of *Sweden* was killed in the battle of *Lutzen* or *Naumbourg*, where his army defeated two armies of the emperor, one commanded by *Papinheim*, who was also killed, and the other by *Walstein*: he was thirty-eight years of age: The battle was fought on the 12th of November 1632.

Cardinal *de Richelieu* being upon his return from *Languedoc*, where he had been detained by a severe sickness, the king left *Versailles* on the 3d of January 1633, to go and meet him at *Rochfort*, a castle belonging to the duke *de Montbazon*, ten or twelve leagues from *Paris*, near *Beauce*.

Soon after this minister's arrival at Court, the keeper of the Seals *de Chateauneuf* was disgraced, and imprisoned in the castle of *Angoulesme*: the seals were given to *Sequier* president of parliament. It was believed the disgrace of *Chateauneuf* proceeded from his having appeared pleased on being informed of the cardinal's sickness and that he was like to die.

The duke of *Lorraine*, being as little capable to continue in peace with the king as to resist him, again gave him fresh causes to turn his arms against him: one of which was his having armed against the *Swedes*, who were the allies of *France*, and attacked with ten thousand men the town of *Staguenau*, which they possessed; in which attack he was defeated by the palatine *de Birckenfelds*: the other cause was, his having permitted the marriage of the duke of *Orleans* with his sister *Margaret* of *Lorraine*, contrary to the promise which he had made the king to prevent it. His majesty, being resolved to do himself justice for these injuries, entered *Lorraine* with an army, and besieged *Nancy*.

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The duke, who after his defeat had retired into *Germany*, sent the cardinal his brother to the king, to make his submissions, and appease his majesty: the king having demanded the princess *Margaret* to be given into his hands, and the city of *Nancy* to be surrendered to him, the princess was secretly conveyed from thence, and retired into *Flanders* to monsieur; and, after several difficulties, it was at last agreed, that the king should be received in *Nancy*, and that he should place such garrison therein as he should judge proper; the sovereignty and propriety, nevertheless, remaining always to the duke of *Lorraine*. After this treaty was executed, the 14th of *September* the duke paid his respects to the king, and promised him for the future to observe a more submissive and respectful conduct than he had hitherto shewn.

On the 4th of *October* following the archbishop of *Treves* was reinstated in the possession of that city, into which he made his entry: the inhabitants having presented the keys of their city to him, he gave them directly to *Buffy Lamet*, commander of the king's troops in the electorate of *Treves*, telling him, *That, as it was owing to his majesty's goodness that he was reinstated in his city, so it was from his power alone that he expected to be maintained in it.*

The king at the same time sent the duke *de Crequy* his ambassador extraordinary to *Rome*, to pay obedience to the pope: no ambassador ever before appeared with so much magnificence as this.

At the beginning of the year 1634, the duke of *Lorraine*, being desirous at once both to preserve his territories and the liberty of carrying on a war against the king and his allies, resigned them in favour of his brother *Nicholas-Francis* cardinal *de Lorraine*; and at the same time he retired into *Germany* with what infantry and cavalry he had been able to raise. After this resignation, the new duke espoused *Claudia*, sister to the dutchess of *Lorraine* his sister-in-law; after which he retired with the princess his wife into the *Milanese*, to secure himself from the king's indignation, who was justly offended by this collusion of the

two brothers, who conspired together to offend him with impunity. The marshal *de la Force*, who commanded the king's army, received orders to enter *Lorraine*, and conquer it; which he did, by subjecting the strong places to the king.

At the same time the parliament of *Paris* published an arret, wherein it was declared, that the marriage of monsieur with the princess of *Lorraine* was not valid; and the duke of *Lorraine*, being a vassal of the crown, on account of the dutchy of *Bar*, was declared guilty of high treason for the outrage and violence committed in the person of monsieur; all his feudal possessions were incorporated and reunited with the crown; and for the infraction of the treaties which the duke of *Lorraine* had concluded with the king, and the violation of his faith in regard to the execution of them, his majesty was most humbly prayed, to employ his power to do himself justice by force of arms, and take satisfaction upon his other territories not situated in *France*. This arret was passed the 5th of *September* 1634.

Monsieur, being dissatisfied with the treatment he received from the *Spaniards* at *Brussels*, resolved to return into *France*, of which he informed the king, who was greatly rejoiced at it, and ordered the governors of his frontier towns to receive him well. He withdrew from *Brussels*, by pretending to go to the chace, on the 8th of *October*, and went to *la Chapelle*, and from thence to *Saint Germain* where the king was. Soon after this *Puylaurent*, his confidant, was created a duke and peer by the king, and espoused a relation of *Richelieu's*. It was believed the cardinal intended these favours should win the friendship of this gentleman, who had great power over monsieur, that by his means he might gain the good will of this prince; but the sequel shewed, that this minister's design was only to divest him of all suspicion, that he might ruin him with the greater ease; for at the beginning of the following year, to wit, on the 14th of *February*, he was seized and confined in the castle of *Vincennes*, where he died after four

four months imprisonment : it was said by the cardinal's enemies, that he had poisoned him in *France*, whom he had not been able to assassinate at *Brussels* : and, indeed, it is certain that a carabine had been fired there at *Puylaurent*, and that the assassin, having missed his aim, had immediately mounted an horse, and disappeared.

The same year the city of *Philipsbourg*, dependent upon the bishoprick of *Spire*, was delivered up to the king by the *Swedes*, who had taken it from the *Spaniards*. Towards the end of this year the affairs of *Sweden* began to change their appearance : the prosperity which had hitherto accompanied their arms began to forsake them ; so that they were forced to retire from several towns, and principally from those of *Alsace* ; which put themselves under the protection of *France*, by way of being secure from the incursions of the duke of *Lorraine*. The power of the *French* in *Germany* was at this time formidable, the king having two armies there ; one of fifteen thousand men, commanded by the duke *de Roban*, the other of thirty thousand, under the command of the marshals *de Brezé* and *de la Force*.

There happened this year a great dispute between the duke *d'Espernon* governor of *Guyenne*, and the archbishop of *Bordeaux*, who had hated him long : they publicly quarrelled in the open streets of that city : the archbishop complained to the king, that the duke had struck him on his belly with his stick : the king, having caused the affair to be enquired into, though the duke denied it, commanded him to submit to ecclesiastical punishment, and make the archbishop such satisfaction as he should require, which the duke did accordingly.

At the beginning of the year 1635. the Imperialists surprized *Philipsbourg*, and took it, in the night between the 23d and 24th of *January* ; after which they besieged *Spire*, and carried it ; but the marshals *de la Force* and *Brezé* about a month afterwards recovered it. Count *d'Emden* also surprized the city of *Treves* with two thousand *Spanish* troops : he privately approached

approached the gate in the night, and by means of a petard forced it open, made himself master of the place, which is very ill situated, and of the person of the elector, who was immediately sent prisoner to *Namur*. The king caused the cardinal infant, governor of the *Low Countries*, to be summoned to give this prince his liberty; and, upon his refusal to do this, he declared war against the king of *Spain* in the month of *April*, by the herald of arms named *Alencon*: a war had in reality been carried on for five years before between *France* and the house of *Austria*, though it was on both sides only under pretence of assisting their allies. This declaration obliged the king to keep commonly five armies on foot; one in the *Low Countries*, another in *Germany*, and the others in *Italy*, *Franche-Comté*, and *Roussillon*; besides two fleets, one of which was always commanded by the archbishop of *Bordeaux*, and the other by various chiefs.

The enemies of *France* were not then in the state to which we now behold them reduced by the king's power and the force of his arms: they were puissant both in troops and riches: they possessed a great extent of territory, which they have since lost, and were powerful in all places: they took several towns from the king, either by force or by agreement, while others were also taken from them: they were victors, and were vanquished, in their turn; and, though the greatest advantages were in favour of the king, yet they were not such as to make it appear that fortune had declared for him, and had abandoned his enemies. The *French* army in the *Low Countries*, being joined to that of the states of the United Provinces, besieged *Louvain*; but, by the vigorous resistance made by the besieged, they were forced to raise the siege. At the same time the *Spaniards* carried the fort of *Skein* by assault; but, the two confederate armies having besieged it again in the month of *September* following, they retook it.

The king had two armies in *Germany*; one commanded by duke *Bernard de Weymar*, of the house
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of *Saxony*; the other by the cardinal *de la Valette*: son of the duke *d'Espernon*, and brother to the duke *de la Valette*: the enemy had also two armies, under the command of general *Galas* and count *William de Mansfeld*. *Galas* having besieged the city of *Deux-Ponts*, the cardinal *de la Valette* forced him to raise the siege; after which he marched with the duke *de Weymar* against *Mansfeld*, who was besieging *Mayence*; and they obliged him also to retire: but soon after the two generals of the enemy, having united their forces, defeated the king's army, and took several towns, from whence they obliged the *Swedes* to retire.

In *Lorraine* the armies commanded by the marshal *de la Force*, afterwards by the duke *de Longueville*, and at last by the king himself, were very successful; almost all the strong places being subjected to his majesty, who recompenced the services done him in this war by *de la Meilleraye* by giving him the post of grand master of the artillery.

In the month of *June* of the same year, the general assembly of the clergy of *France* being held at *Paris*, the king ordered them to give their opinion touching this proposition: *Whether the marriages of the princes of the blood, and principally of those who are the presumptive heirs to the crown, would be legal and valid, though they should be concluded, not only without the consent, but contrary to the king's express command?* For the examination of this proposition, the assembly appointed the bishops of *Montpellier*, *Seez*, *Saint Malo* and *Nismes*; and three weeks after these four prelates declared to the assembly, that, after having examined this proposition with great care, and having conferred upon it with the principal doctors in theology of all orders, their opinion was, that such marriages were neither legal nor valid: the whole assembly, having heard the reasons whereon they supported their opinion, acquiesced in them without any opposition, and unanimously declared that these marriages were null: not but that most of those who composed this assembly were persuaded that such marriages, and
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in particular that of monsieur with the princefs of *Lorraine*, for which alone this proposition had been made, were both legal and valid, conscientiously considered, even though they should be illegal according to civil contract ; the conditions of which are different from those which the church has prescribed for the validity of this sacrament : but they rather chose to suppress their real sentiments, than declare them to no purpose.

Our historians say, that, after this declaration of the clergy, all the religious orders, companies, societies, and congregations, both secular and regular, antient and modern, gave the like in writing : but this is not true of the congregation of the oratory ; for *Pere Condren*, who was then the superior general of it, constantly resisted the reiterated solicitations which were made to him from cardinal *de Richelieu*, saying that his conscience did not permit him to be of the same opinion with the assembly, and that he would never betray it.

The king sent doctors in theology to monsieur his brother to acquaint him with the declaration which had been made touching his marriage. Monsieur answered them in raillery, *That, since they had power thus to dissolve the firmest and most lawful marriages, he advised them to inform the king, that this would be a certain means to draw immense sums of money from his subjects without loading them with taxes: for that he need only put up to sale such declarations of nullity of marriages to whoever should purchase them, and the number of those who would accept the conditions would most certainly be infinite ; but that, in regard to himself, he did not care to accept them.* It was about this time that the king erected the lands of *Saint-Simon* into a ducal peerage in favour of *Saint Simon* his first gentleman, who then enjoyed the confidence and favour of his majesty. On the 19th of *December* the king conferred on *Peter Sequier*, keeper of the seals, the post of chancellor of *France*, vacant by the death of the chancellor *d'Algre*.

The year following, 1636, the king ordered the prince of *Condé* to attack *Franche-Compté*, to which a neutrality had been hitherto granted : his majesty was desirous that this attack should begin by the siege of *Dole* ; and it was accordingly besieged on the 28th of *May* ; but, as it was exceeding strong, and defended by a numerous garrison, the resistance was very long and vigorous : insomuch that the king, having occasion for his troops elsewhere, sent orders to the prince of *Condé* to raise the siege ; which he did on the 16th *August*, after having lost three thousand men in his several attacks upon the place. He detached ten thousand men to the king, reserving to himself no more than were sufficient to enable him to keep the field.

In the month of *August* following, the enemy took several places from us, and among others *Corbie* ; which so astonished the *Parisians*, that, after great murmuring against cardinal *de Richelieu*, who had not taken care to keep the walls of *Paris* in a state of defence, nor the arsenal provided with military stores, they raised troops at their own expence, under the king's direction, and formed an army of twenty thousand men, which, being in a short time increased to thirty thousand, was employed in the retaking of *Corbie*, and the other towns which the enemy had taken upon our frontiers.

The *Swedes* also were very successful in *Germany*, under the command of marshal *Banier* their general : for they defeated the Imperialists, and the troops of *Saxony* which had joined them, killed eight thousand of them, and remained masters of their cannon, baggage, and most of their colours.

The post of secretary of state for foreign affairs was taken from *Servien*, and given to *Sublet de Noyers*, one of the intendants of the finances, and a creature of cardinal *de Richelieu's*. The abbé *de la Riviere*, the most trusty of the domesticks of the duke of *Orleans*, was confined in the *Bastile* by the king's command, as being the author of all the discontents which *Monsieur* from time to time had shewn.

The

The emperor convoked the general diet of the empire at *Ratisbon*, under pretence of reconciling and reuniting all the princes, and even of finding means to establish peace in Christendom : but his real design was to get his son, the king of *Hungary*, elected king of the *Romans*. Upon the representations made by the ambassador of *England* for the re-establishment of the count palatine of the *Rhine* in his territories and in the electorate, all the propositions of peace and reunion ceased ; and the assembly having been transferred to *Cologne*, the king of *Hungary* was there elected king of the *Romans*.

The successes of the year 1637 were greatly in favour of *France*. *Henry* of *Lorraine*, count d'*Har-court*, retook the isles of *Saint Margaret* and *Saint Honorat*, situated near the coast of *Provence*, which the *Spaniards* had seized two years before : he made his attack with such vigour upon all the forts of these islands, that he forced them in a few days to surrender upon articles. In the *Low Countries* the cardinal de *la Valette* and the duke de *Candale* his brother subjected several places to the king, and among other *Landrecys* in *Hainault*. The war was carried on with equal good success in all the other countries where the king had armies, and especially in *Piedmont*.

The next year, 1638, the duke of *Weymar* took the towns of *Sickinghen*, *Lauffenbourg*, *Waldschud*, and *Rinsfeld*, called *forest towns*, because they are situated near the *Black Forest*.

John de Werth being come to the relief of *Rinsfeld* with the imperial troops, under the command of three other generals, who shared the command with him, (these were duke *Savelly*, *Enkenfort* and general *Spanther*) the duke of *Weymar* defeated them, killed twelve hundred of their men, and took upwards of two thousand of them prisoners ; among whom were *John de Werth*, *Erkenfort*, and *Savelly*, who were sent to the king, and confined in the castle of *Vincennes*. After this the duke of *Weymar* besieged *Brissac*.

Lamboy, general of the emperor's troops, attacked him in his camp, in order to force his lines, and re-

lieve the place ; but he was repulsed, with the loss of three thousand men, by the viscount *de Turenne* and the count *de Guesbriant*, who commanded as lieutenant-generals under the duke of *Weymar*, who was at that time unable to act through sickness. *Rheinac* governor of *Brissac*, having lost all hopes of being relieved, surrendered the place to the duke, who put it in possession of the king, who caused the fortifications, which were irregular, to be demolished, and others that were regular to be constructed, which have rendered this place one of the strongest upon our frontiers.

In *Italy* the war was pursued with various success on both sides : the duke *de Crequy* was killed by a cannon shot, as he was going to attack the camp of the marshal *de Leganez*, who was besieging *Breme*, a town in the *Milanese* : and the cardinal *de la Valette* was sent by the king to take upon him the command of the army, in place of the duke.

The prince of *Condé*, who commanded the king's army in *Guyenne*, *Bearn*, and *Navarre*, received orders to besiege *Fontarabia*, a town belonging to *Spain*, situated in *Biscay*. The siege proved unfortunate ; for, two months after the prince had begun it, he was forced in his camp by the enemy's army, which came to the relief of the place ; and the *French* troops were defeated with great slaughter : those few that escaped with great difficulty saved themselves by getting on board the ships which besieged the place by sea : the artillery and baggage was all taken by the enemy.

The blame of this misfortune was cast by some upon the duke *de Candale*, who was lieutenant-general in the army, and who had the chief command under the prince of *Condé* ; or, according to others, cardinal *Richelieu*, with whom he was not on good terms, took this opportunity to satisfy his particular animosity, and was preparing to have him seized ; but the duke, being informed of it by his wife and friends, retired into *England*. Towards the end of this year father *Joseph a Capuchin* died at *Paris*. Cardinal

de

de Richelieu had employed him in the affairs of state, in which alone he had been entirely engaged ever since the siege of *Rochelle*. He had been named for a cardinal, but he never was one.

The duke of *Weymar*, having made great conquests for the king on this side the *Rhine*, was making preparations to pass that river, when he died, in the month of *July* 1639. The army under his command was composed partly of *French* troops, and partly of *Germans* who were attached to his person, and were called the *Weymarian* troops. The count *de Guesbriant*, lieutenant-general of this army, treated with the latter in the king's name, engaged them in his service, and caused them to take an oath of fidelity to him.

In the mean time the king's troops, to which those of the duke of *Savoy* were joined, made a great progress in *Piedmont*: the pope's nuncio, using his endeavours to procure a peace in this country, at last did obtain a truce of the generals of the two parties, which was to continue from the 14th of *August* to the 24th of *October*. During this suspension of arms, the dutchess of *Savoy*, regent of the territories of *Charles Emanuel* her son, successor to *Francis Hyacinth* his eldest brother, who had survived their common father *Victor Amadeus* only one year, passed the *Alps*, and came to *Grenoble* to see the king her brother, who met her there, not only to give her this satisfaction but also the more powerfully to assist her with his forces against the *Spaniards*, who furnished his brother-in-law the cardinal *de Savoy* and prince *Thomas* both with men and money to attack the territories of the duke her son, wherein they had made themselves masters of the principal places.

The cardinal *de la Valette* having died in *Piedmont*, the king gave the command of his army to the count *d'Harcourt*, who, after having taken some of those towns from the enemy of which they had made themselves masters, defeated the two armies of prince *Thomas*, and the marquis *Leganex*, who attacked him near a place called *la Route*.

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The following year, 1640, the marquis de *Légnéz* having besieged *Cazal*, the count d'*Harcourt* attacked him in his camp, forced his lines, defeated him, and killed upwards of four thousand of his men: he acted on this occasion not only like a great general, but also like a courageous soldier; for he was the first who entered the enemy's camp, having leaped his horse clear over their line, which so encouraged his whole army, that the lines were forced in an instant. After this victory, which was obtained on the 28th of *April* 1640, the count d'*Harcourt* besieged *Turin*: prince *Thomas* was in that city, and was besieging the citadel with 8000 men. The lines of circumvallation being finished towards the end of the month of *May*, the marquis de *Légnéz*, who had raised fresh forces, came to attack the count in his camp; but he was repulsed with the loss of three thousand men. Some time after, a reinforcement of 9000 men coming to him from *Germany*, he made another attack on the *French* camp, and was again repulsed with more considerable loss than in his former attack.

Prince *Thomas*, no longer hoping any assistance from the *Spaniards*, as being too weak, he surrendered the city of *Turin* to the king, and could obtain no other conditions for the inhabitants than that their lives and fortunes should be safe: in regard to every thing else they were to be at the discretion of the dutchess of *Savoy*, against whom they had revolted. Thus this princess by the king's arms was reinstated in the capital city of her territories, into which she made her entry on the 25th of *October*.

The king's arms at the same time made a great progress in the other provinces: the principal advantages which they gained were the taking of *Hesdin* and *Arras*. *La Meilleraye*, grand master of the artillery, besieged both these places; and the king being present at the siege and reduction of the former, he entered it through the breach, and rewarded *la Meilleraye* by giving him the staff of marshal of *France*. This place was taken in the month of *June* 1639.

1639. *Arras* surrendered in the month of *August* of the following year; and the king gave the government of it to *Saint Prueil*, a gentleman of extraordinary courage.

On the 21st of *September* the queen was delivered of a second son at *Saint Germain*, who at first bore the title of duke of *Anjou*, and afterwards of *Orléans*, being the king's only brother. This year the *Portuguese* shook off the yoke of the *Spanish* dominion, and declared the duke of *Braganza* their king, of whom we have spoke before.

The year 1641 is remarkable for the battle of *Sedan*, wherein the count *de Soissons* was slain. This prince, being an enemy of the cardinal *de Richelieu*'s, had retired from court the preceding year, and went to *Sedan*, where the duke *de Bouillon* had received him: both of them, being discontented, had treated with *Spain*, and they had raised troops, which being joined by a considerable succour under the command of *Lamboy*, they prepared to enter *France*.

The marshal *de Chatillon*, who commanded the king's army, having received orders from his majesty to oppose their enterprizes, gave them battle near the town of that name and was defeated; but after the engagement the victorious army found that the count *de Soissons* its general was killed. The enemies of cardinal *de Richelieu* reported that this was done by a soldier of his own army, which this minister had gained for the purpose. It is said by some that he accidentally killed himself, by endeavouring with the end of his pistol to lift up the vizor of his head-piece, which incommoded him: the trigger in his doing this being by some accident pulled back, the pistol instantly went off, and shot him through the head, of which he died.

After this battle the victorious army committed great devastations in the open country, till at last, the king appearing, the duke *de Bruillon* retired to *Sedan*; and, the king approaching it, the duke came out to implore his majesty's clemency, who pardoned him and granted him letters of abolition. The duke

of *Lorraine*, having again violated a new treaty which he had concluded with the king, again lost his dominions, which were conquered by the king's forces.

The *Catalonians* were now revolted against the king of *Spain*, and having driven the *Spaniards* out of almost all *Catalonia*, they chose themselves a king and acknowledged him for their sovereign: whereupon a war was immediately commenced with great fury in that province. *La Motte Houdancour*, who commanded the king's army there, besieged *Tarragon* by land, and the archbishop of *Bourdeaux* blocked it up by sea. The marquis de *Leganex* made frequent attempts to get succours into the place, but without success, having been always repulsed with great vigour. The besieged were reduced to great extremity for want of provisions, and *le Motte Houdancour* beheld himself upon the point of reaping the fruits of his vigilance and courage, by the reduction of the place, when, through the negligence of the archbishop of *Bourdeaux*, several ships, loaden with soldiers, provisions, and all kinds of ammunition, entered the place, which obliged the general to abandon the siege. The king, being greatly dissatisfied with the archbishop's conduct, commanded him to quit the kingdom and retire to *Carpentras*, a town in the county of *Veneffin*.

Saint Breuil, governor of *Arras*, having made himself suspected by cardinal *de Richelieu*, was seized, and conveyed to *Amiens*, where he was tried by commissioners appointed by the king, who condemned him to be beheaded, which was executed accordingly. The crimes for which he was condemned were violences and extortions committed in his government, and for having put the *Spanish* garrison of *Bapaume* to the sword, when it was retiring to *Bethune* with a safe conduct from the marshal de *Meilleraye*, who had taken the town of *Bapaume*, which had surrendered to him upon terms: he was accused of having done this through a particular animosity against the governor, tho' he knew the terms of the capitulation, hav-
ing

ing been informed of them by one of the king's trumpeters who conducted this garrison.

At the beginning of the year 1642 the count *de Guebriant*, who commanded the king's army in *Germany*, after having taken the town of *Ordinghen*, gave battle to *Lamboy*, who commanded the imperial troops, and defeated him with a great slaughter; which would have been yet greater, had not the enemy's infantry, throwing down their arms, begged quarters, and offered to serve the king, which was granted them. The principal officers of the enemy's army were slain, and *Lamboy* its general was taken prisoner. The king receiving an account of this victory at *Lyons*, sent the staff of marshal of *France* to the count *de Guebriant*, who completed this campaign gloriously, and obtained other considerable advantages over the enemy.

In the mean time *Torstenfon* general of the *Swedish* army, having besieged *Lipsick*, the arch duke *Leopold* and *Picolomini*, each commanding an army, marched against him; whereupon he raised the siege, gave them battle, defeated them, and killed 3000 of their men, he granted quarter to the rest of their infantry, which entered into his own troops, took their baggage and cannon, returned to *Lipsick*, and compelled that city to surrender.

Prince *Thomas* and the cardinal *de Savoy* his brother perceiving that the king of *Spain's* design was only to cause a division between them and the dutchess of *Savoy* their sister-in-law, in order to take advantage of their misunderstanding, they concluded a peace with this princess by a treaty which was equally advantageous to them and the dutchess. It was agreed by a secret article, that the duke of *Savoy's* eldest sister should be granted in marriage to prince *Maurice*, cardinal, and the uncle of this princess. After this accommodation the war was no longer carried on but against the *Spaniards* in the *Milanese*, the whole of *Piedmont* being subjected to its prince, excepting only a few places.

The army in *Roussillon* was now commanded by the marshal *de la Meilleraye*, who took *Perpignan* on the 19th of *September*; and the *Spaniards* in *Catalonia* were frequently defeated by the king's army which was there under the command of *de la Motte Houdancour*, who by his great actions highly merited the being made a marshal of *France*. After he had received this recompence for his services, he again defeated the *Spaniards* upon several occasions, and forced them to raise the siege of *Lerida*, which they abandoned to meet and give him battle: the combat was violent and bloody; and the enemy was defeated, with the loss of upwards of three thousand men.

On the 11th of *September* *Cinqmars*, grand ecuyer of *France*, and *de Thou*, a counsellor were beheaded at *Lyons*: *Cinqmars* was the son of the late marshal *d'Effiat*. As cardinal *de Richelieu* had made the father's fortune, so he had also made the son's: he had been the means of his obtaining the favour and confidence of the king, who, the cardinal knew, could not be without a favourite; and he therefore with a view to his own interest caused this place to be filled, by a man who, owing his whole fortune to him, would never use his influence to prejudice him with the king: but however it happened otherwise: for *Cinqmars*, either because he thought he had some cause to be dissatisfied with the cardinal, or because his ambition excited him to a desire of owing his good fortune only to himself, endeavoured to prejudice him in the king's opinion. The cardinal, who was the quickest and most penetrating of all men, immediately perceived the designs of *Cinqmars*, who finding himself discovered, sought protection and support in the person of monsieur, the duke of *Orleans*, and the duke *de Bouillon*, whom he believed to be the cardinal's enemies. They judged it adviseable to enter into a confederacy with the king of *Spain*, and even concluded a treaty with him by the intermission of the viscount *de Fontrailles*, who carried the plan of it into *Spain*, and brought it back signed by his Catholick majesty. This treaty was made in the name
of

of monsieur: the pretence for it was the re-establishment of peace between the two crowns, and that those who should procure this peace might be protected from the persecution of those who desired the continuance of the war.

The principal articles of the treaty were, that the king of *Spain* should furnish monsieur with 12000 infantry and 5000 cavalry, should furnish them with 400000 crowns, in ready money, to raise troops in *France*, and 12000 crowns a month; also 40000 crowns as a pension to the duke de *Bouillon*, and as much to the master of the horse. When the treaty was signed by both parties, *Cinqmars* communicated it to *Augustus de Thou*, his intimate friend, who disapproved it, and endeavoured to dissuade this lord from so criminal and dangerous an engagement; but, not being able to succeed, he kept it secret.

In the mean time the king went into *Rouffillon*, and was present at the siege of *Perpignan* by the marshal de *Milleraye*: but his bad state of health obliged him soon to return to *Paris*. As the cardinal went with the king upon this occasion, a resolution was taken to assassinate him, whenever a favourable opportunity should present. Monsieur promised to be at *Lyons* during the time the king should be there, in order that this design might be executed in his presence, and that it might afterwards be avowed by him, as having been done by his orders: but monsieur having intrusted the queen with the design, though she mortally hated the cardinal, the secret was so soon divulged, that, when the court arrived at *Lyons*, it was known by every body. Upon this *Fontrailles*, perceiving the fatal consequences of an enterprise so badly conducted, endeavoured to save himself, by retiring out of the kingdom.

Soon after *Cinqmars*, *de Thou*, and the duke de *Bouillon* were seized in different places, and conducted to the castle of *Peter Aneise* at *Lyons*: the last of them obtained his pardon of the king by ceding to him the principality of *Sedan*, and putting him in possession of the city: the two others were condemned, by commis-

sioner

oners appointed by the king, to be beheaded ; one of them for being concerned in a treaty concluded with the enemy of the state, and the other for having known this, and not discovered it. This sentence, which was passed by the chancellor was executed at *Lyons*.

The cardinal did not long survive the death of his enemies. He had been for some months afflicted with a mortal distemper, which was a general stagnation of blood, caused by an ulcer or cancer in his arm, from which he suffered great pains ; and was at last reduced by it to such an extremity, that he was unable to rise, and, wherever he went, was always carried in his bed by men : he departed from *Lyons* in this manner on the same day that *Cinqmars* and *de Thou* were executed there, and he got to the king at *Fontainebleau* on the 13th of *October*. His distemper being something relieved, he quitted his bed and acted with as much application and activity as ever ; but, his pains having again attacked him at *Paris*, he was entirely subdued by them. The king, being informed of the extremity he was in, came from *Saint Germain* to *Paris* to see him, and expressed great grief on beholding his condition ; but after his death, which happened on the 4th of *December*, he seemed glad that he was delivered from a minister whom he esteemed very much, but whom he feared much more. After his death those who had been exiled from court or imprisoned, as the marshals *de Vitry*, *de Bassompierre*, *d'Etrees*, and several others, were released, and had leave again to appear at court.

The king had four years been afflicted with a distemper which at first had reduced him to extremity, and, having afterwards abated, had left him in a languishing state, which made it probable he could not live long. Accordingly, his strength declining daily, towards the middle of *April*, in the year 1643 he became sensible that his death approached : he therefore prepared himself for it, and on the 19th of *April* published a declaration touching the manner in which he desired the kingdom might be governed after his death, during the minority of his successor.

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The principal articles of this declaration were, that the queen should be regent of the kingdom; that monsieur his majesty's brother should be the lieutenant of the minor king throughout the kingdom, and head of the council under the queen's authority, (and, in his absence, the prince of *Condé*) that the queen's council should be composed of the duke de *Longueville*, *Mazarin* (for whom *Richelieu* had procured a cardinal's cap, by the king's nomination, about a year before), the chancellor of *France*, the superintendant of the finances, and *Chavigny*, to govern the kingdom in conjunction with her, and under her, in quality of ministers of state: the king caused this declaration to be signed by the queen and monsieur, and commanded the prince of *Condé* and the chancellor to carry it to the parliament and cause it to be registered, which was done on the 21st of *April*.

The king lived after this till the 14th of *May*, and during the whole of this time he expressed great grief at the manner in which the queen his mother had been treated under his authority, and at the severity shewn her in being refused leave to return into *France*, which she had often desired, and more particularly when the persecution which had been carried on against the Catholics in *England*, from which even her own domesticks had not been exempted, obliged her to quit that island and retire to *Cologne*, where she died on the 3d of *July* 1642. On this account alone he was greatly disquieted, and shewed strong apprehensions of the judgment of heaven upon him.

At last this Prince died on *Friday* the 14th of *May*, in the 42d year of his age, being the same day whereon *Henry IV* his father had also died.

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